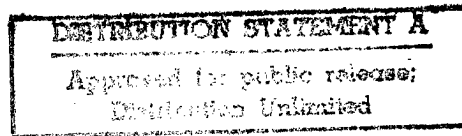


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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IMPORTANCE OF PARTY ROLE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS ORGANS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Dec 83 pp 24-33

[Article by Sami Gega: "Party Leadership and Control--an Indispensable Objective and the Basis of Every Success"]

[Text] Just as in all of our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and social organizations and activity, so too in the whole life and activity of the internal affairs organs, leadership by the party is an indispensable objective. As part of the state mechanism, of our system of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, these organs construct and carry out their activity on the basis of the party line and for its implementation, and on the basis of the laws of the state and for their execution.

Without the leadership of the party, the internal affairs organs cannot maintain their proletarian character and revolutionary spirit, they cannot secure a correct orientation in every step of their activity. It is precisely for this reason that the enemies of the party and the people have attempted everywhere, even in this link in the system of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, to interject a liberal and bureaucratic spirit and, especially, to remove the internal affairs organs from the leadership and control of the party.

The fact is already generally known that, for example, the enemy and multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, who was the inspirational and directing head of a whole group of enemies, tried to avoid the leadership of the party, putting in first place the state administration and the command and staffs of the army. He, together with the enemies Kadri Hazbiu and Fecor Shehu, following in the footsteps of Koci Xoxe, even tried to remove the internal affairs organs from the leadership of the party and, indeed, to put them in the first place in the system of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, even above the party. The fact that they were never able to achieve their goals is beside the point. This happened because the party has constantly remained close to these organs, because their communists and cadres have, on the whole, been led by the party's directives and resolutions, by its principles and norms, by socialist legality.

Nevertheless, the discovery, unmasking and defeat of the enemy activity has helped the party organizations, the communists and cadres of internal affairs organs to learn valuable lessons. The first and most fundamental lesson is that the leading, controlling, organizational and educational role of the party in

these organs must be strengthened and raised to an ever higher level in such a manner that they will execute the correct Marxist-Leninist policy and directives of the party at all times and in all of their activities, maintaining their proletarian nature and character, and will always be in accordance with the spirit of the party in carrying out their functions. The other lesson deals with the perfection and raising of the activity of the internal affairs organs to a higher scientific level, in order that they will be further qualified to detect, uncover, prevent and harshly punish, in time, every hostile and criminal activity.

In both of these directions, the party has taken a series of political and organizational measures whose usefulness is attested to by a number of achievements which are observed in the practical activity of these organs. In execution of the directives of the 8th Party Congress and of tasks set by the post-congress plenums of the party Central Committee, the work of the party in these organs has been strengthened and vitalized. The leading role of the basic-organizations has been increased, the communists and cadres are working and struggling with a higher feeling of responsibility. As a consequence, the level of militant preparedness and revolutionary vigilance of the members of these organs has been raised.

But the party teaches us not to be complacent and not to think that everything has been achieved. Efforts are still required to fully cleanse the work of these organs from every false conception, practice and attitude, foreign to the nature of our internal affairs organs. Several deficiencies still observed in the work of some cadres or organs of internal affairs dictate the indispensability of improvement in the further strengthening of the work of the party and the raising of its leading role in these organs to a higher qualitative level.

1.

It is essential to intensify work for the thorough knowledge and precise application of the party line in the activity of internal affairs organs. This is one of the fundamental questions closely connected with the conceptualization and full realization of the leading role of the party, a role which, in the internal affairs organs too, the party "ensures with its correct line and with its tenacious struggle and work for the application of this line in life" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the AWP," p 66).

The internal affairs organs, just as other organisms of the system of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, are led by the ideology of the party and by its line. This factor is the first crucial condition for the ensuring of the party's political and ideological leadership in these organs as well.

The party line, illuminated by Marxist-Leninist ideology and by the experience of the class struggle in our country, embodies the interests of the working class and all the laboring masses in the building of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the Proletariat and the defense of the fatherland. For this reason, knowledge of this line and its precise application constitute an absolute necessity and task for every worker. Without a thorough knowledge of the party line, it is not possible either to be vigilant or capable of defending its application. Shallow, superficial, general knowledge is full of negative consequences, especially for communists and cadres of internal affairs organs, organs especially charged with the maintenance of the socialist system, the

the dictatorship of the Proletariat and the party. Thorough knowledge of the party line, its application and defense constitute essential issues in the activity of these organs. They are an indispensable condition for improving their activity, for the further strengthening of class spirit, party spirit and objectivity in the exercise of functions with which they are charged.

The organs and basic organizations of the party in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have always tried to find new ways and forms for the thorough assimilation and correct application of the party line, for recognizing and avoiding deficiencies which hinder this process. The experience of the best organs and organizations teaches them that in this process of knowledge and application, essential importance is given to the thorough study and assimilation, especially, of those party materials and works of Comrade Enver Hoxha where the activity of internal affairs organs is discussed, where the platform of their operational work is synthesized, where special party directives and instructions are given for these organs. It is also especially important for cadres of these organs to study the state laws and other legal acts, in support of which the whole activity of these organs is regulated. Always putting the proletarian policy in first place, everyone works and struggles like a revolutionary.

So far, the organs of internal affairs, their communists and cadres, have been led by these directives, they have viewed and treated the questions of class struggle in the light of party teachings and they have solved their tasks with objectivity. Nevertheless, in practical activity, as a result of the influence of bureaucratic concepts and enemy activity, errors have been confirmed, especially in connection with the significance and development of the class struggle, with the distinction between two types of conflicts antagonistic and non-antagonistic. The narrowness in understanding and treatment of these questions by some cadres has made them, even unconsciously, slip into liberalism, some others, into sectarianism--both of these are foreign to the party line.

The knowledge and correct application of the party line and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which are embodied in the work platform of the internal affairs organs, is not an independent aim. When the correct party line is known, it is then also correctly applied in practice, the party and the dictatorship of the Proletariat are consequently defended, and erroneous liberal or sectarian actions are avoided.

The party teaches us that the questions which are the object of the work of the internal affairs organs are to be treated and judged with objectivity, from the positions of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Such a thing is achieved when, on the other hand, every effort is made to reflect truthfully on questions, seeing, treating and scientifically analyzing the object and the objective side, the subject and the subjective side, the aggravating or mitigating circumstances in the committing of a crime or a penal infraction. Only in this way can the type of punishment and its extent be determined, with the aim of punishing enemies and criminals harshly, while saving our people who are led by chance onto mistaken paths under the influence of remnants of bourgeois ideology. The party teaches us to work for the salvation of even those elements originating in the overthrown classes or of a bad political composition, especially their children, if they work honorably for the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland. Our party has never artificially incited the class struggle.

The whole work of the party attempts to prevent the involvement of individuals into hostile or criminal activity, which is accomplished through broad, skilled and well coordinated educational work by all the levers of the party. The internal affairs organs have their own role in this party work. Practice shows that the attitude of workers in these organs toward people helps them to recognize in time those who commit errors and transgressions and, according to the situation, to work with them in an educational, advisory and admonitory capacity. Such party work has great value in interrupting hostile and criminal activity, in increasing the vigilance of the masses, as well as in strengthening the moral and political condition of the people. Arrest, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must be "the last resort." To make an arrest initially in every case, as the enemies Kadri Hazbiu and Fecor Shehu tried to do, is a mistake in theory, very damaging in practice.

The prevention of crime and enemy activity is not itself a task of the internal affairs organs. The party works with all its levers for the communist, patriotic and revolutionary education of workers. Life indicates to us that the better people are educated and shaped politically and ideologically, the better formed their juridical socialist awareness will be, the better and the more they will work, the more revolutionary they will be in work and in life, and the fewer mistakes and violations they will commit. Certainly, this is one side of the problem. Other measures are also necessary for the prevention of penal actions or infractions. The workers in internal affairs organs, in cooperation with the other party levers, have the task of influencing, so that they may be taken in time and be effective, such measures as the control of the work, quality and remuneration of the masses, the control with respect to financial discipline, the discipline of production and distribution, state control in general and worker and peasant control. Otherwise, the way is paved for people's destruction, up to the point where they are led onto the path of penal actions.

2.

The leading role of the party over the activity of the internal affairs organs is realized not only by its correct line, but also by means of the animation and skillfulness of the concrete work of party organizations and communists.

It is a fact that, recently especially, the party organizations in the internal affairs organs, by improving their work method, have increased the effectiveness of the management and control work in the activity of these organs. In this framework, the leadership activity of communists has also been increased. The themes and problems taken up by the party organizations have been manifold, their main axis consisting of ideas from the 8th Party Congress and the tasks set by the 4th and 5th plenums of the party Central Committee, as well as the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the work of the party in internal affairs organs. In the course of this year they have also completed several studies whose aim has been the further strengthening of their leading role over the activity of the internal affairs organs. Such studies were: "On the Situation of Measures for the Improvement of the Intelligence Force," "On the Manifestations of Petit-bourgeois Psychology and Measures for Combatting Them," "On the Effectiveness of Work by Decree," "On the Understanding and Correct Application of the Line in the Activity of the Masses of the Internal Affairs Organs," etc.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that everything has been done for the vitalization of party life and for the perfection of the leadership activity of party organizations everywhere and by all organizations. The manifestations of inactivity and conformism which characterized the activity of some basic-organizations is not eradicated immediately, but by a continuing, organized and skilled work with all the communists, in order that every one of them will continue and play the role of a consistent fighter for the application and defense of the party line.

During meetings for rendering accounts and party elections, the need is stressed almost everywhere for an increase in expert and analytical capabilities in basic-organizations, because there are still cases of organizations that make superficial and formal analyses, that make few efforts to discover the reasons for weaknesses in work, that do not demonstrate much concern in the determination of tasks and even more so in their pursuit, that continue to show a weakness in seeking accountability, especially with from leading cadres. It is understandable that such defects create a real obstacle to the increase in the leading role of the basic-organizations.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has drawn attention several times to the imperative need for invigorating the life and perfecting the leadership activity of basic party organizations in internal affairs organs, in the struggle against routine and formalism. Naturally, the struggle against such manifestations has not been lacking and there are achievements. Nevertheless, much remains to be done and, above all, to thoroughly understand that routine and formalism are completely foreign to the work of the party, that they cause one to procrastinate in everyday work and to perform work in a thoroughly studied and generalized manner, to see only the outside of an issue, the form and not the content of questions, to be satisfied with the number of meetings and themes without examining their effectiveness.

The usefulness of the struggle against routine and formalism, for the revolutionizing of the life of party organs and organizations, in order that they may better carry out political, ideological and organizational leadership in the activity of the internal affairs organs, as the party and practice itself teach us, depends upon a number of factors.

First, the basic party organizations must thoroughly enter into the content of the activity of the internal affairs organs, in order to anticipate the solution of fundamental problems. Various efforts have been made in this direction, especially recently. In the themes of problems that they treat, the party organizations also include such questions as the understanding and application of requirements of the work platform and socialist legislation, the application of party directives on the policy of punishment, the political and professional training of cadres and its effect, preventive work, the application of the line of the masses, as well as a number of other themes which have to do with discovery, prevention and punishment, in time, of hostile and criminal activity. But there are also party organizations, such as that of the internal affairs branch in Kruje district and some others, which do not occupy themselves as much as they should with fundamental problems, not linking themselves well with the basic activity of communists and workers of the appropriate organ, with the result of negative consequences for the effective realization of their leading

role. Naturally, coming to grips with fundamental problems and thoroughly entering into their content is not easy work, but neither is it impossible: it is sufficient for there to exist a predisposition for it and that there be persistence in doing it.

Parallel with the determination and treatment of a group of themes which represent the most important problems, the basic party organizations of the internal affairs branches must show great concern for the thoroughness of analyses which they make on these problems. A thorough analysis assists in drawing conclusions, in determining concrete tasks for the organization and for its levers, which also permits them to follow regularly, require and give an account of the extent and level of their application. This is an indispensable requirement, without which the leading role of the basic party organization cannot be understood, are still carried out, where although the basic-organization discusses important questions, the factors which round out the problem are gone over in a cursory fashion, then tasks do not emerge or else tasks are set which are too general and deal too much with state matters, which do not mobilize and whose application is difficult to control. Such deficiencies occur where the object of the work of the party is not well understood, where few efforts are made to become thoroughly acquainted with problems and with the role of the organization itself and of each of its levers in their solution.

Second, it is important that the basic-organization treat the problems it places on the agenda from all angles, especially from their political and ideological angle. The actions of workers of the internal affairs organs, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must be seen not only from their professional and technical aspect, but simultaneously from the political and ideological prism. When such a complex analysis is lacking, it then happens that the materials and analysis of the party organization are not distinguished from those that are made along state lines; the numbers and percents are given, but not the ideopolitical work that has been done and must be done by the communists and workers in order that they understand the substance of the problem and be made aware of its correct solution. An incident or a violation of the law is analyzed, for example, but the reason for this incident or violation of law is not analyzed, what concepts there had been in this direction and what educational and formative work must be carried out to prevent and combat them. Certainly, in the absence of this, thorough ignorance of the given problem exerts an influence, but there is also the concept that "the work of the security forces is secret and the appropriate cadres are concerned with it." Whereas, in reality, there can be no secrets from the party committee, bureau and basic-organization. The secret must be kept from those outside.

Third, the utilization of the life of the basic-organization, the increase of its leading role in the internal affairs organs, just as everywhere else, requires increased activity on the part of communists and the broad development of principled criticism.

A great number of communists militate in the internal affairs organs and, in general, they play an active role in the basic-organizations, they are linked with the masses, they work and struggle like revolutionaries and bring mature opinions to the party. But it is a fact, too, that some communists in these organs have not played, as is necessary, in a vanguard role, they have lacked

vigilance, have had excessive trust in their superiors and chiefs and have not immersed themselves in the party teaching, "believe and control." In some cases it has been forgotten that we must not judge and evaluate the cadres by their words, but by how they work and struggle concretely for the application of the party line, that we must not view the party from the standpoint of persons, but from the standpoint of its line and directives. A barometer for every one of us is our work for the application of the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In order for such a conception of the question to be created for all, it is necessary to extend the level of communists' knowledge, to increase their political, ideological, technical and scientific level.

Parallel with this, it is also necessary to increase the communists' revolutionary courage, because, in fact, after the discovery by the party of the hostile activity of the putschist group, many communists saw the light and raised numerous questions which had to do with the character and moral image of some ex-cadres, as well as with questions of the violation of the party line by members of the putschist enemies'. But the question emerges: what kept these communists from voicing their opinions earlier? The party has always stressed the imperative need for the development of criticism, the imperative need for the free voicing of opinions, not only as a right, but as a duty of prime importance for every communist and, indeed, for every worker.

The development of criticism, the voicing of opinion and the organization of debate in the basic-organization and in the collective are party norms. The party, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must develop broadly and on the road of correct criticism. Otherwise, it cannot be strengthened and cannot be maintained in its leading role. Conditions of a lack of criticism unfailingly create the "cult of leaders," while if "the leaders are correctly criticised, the party is not damaged."

By analyses that have been made, it has emerged that those communists and cadres of the internal affairs organs who have not criticised openly and with courage have not had clear concepts of revolutionary vigilance, but, apparently, there have even been some who have suffered from liberalism and conformism, some also from careerism. Those party organizations, therefore, do well that work for the further utilization of their life and succeed in the struggle against such manifestations as well. This has recently brought about a greater sharpening of criticism and self-criticism. But there is no room for complacency, because even during meetings for rendering accounts and for new elections in the party, several internal affairs branches in the party organizations stressed that there are still communists who are leading a lukewarm life, who rarely engage in discussions and then only when some comment is made, while the criticism in some organizations is still weak, especially the criticism from below to above and in a parallel direction.

3.

In order to strengthen the work of the party in internal affairs organs, great importance lies in the correct understanding and application of the principle of the collegial leadership and control of the party over the activities of these organs.

In December 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha again stressed, among other things, that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its work at headquarters and in districts must be under the collegial direction of the party in the ministry and in the branches, while the work of branches in districts is also under the direction and control of the district party committees. In addition, 1 year later, in December 1975, criticizing the hesitation of some district party committees in monitoring the activity of the internal affairs branches, as well as the fact that only the first secretary maintained contacts with the head of the district internal affairs branch, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that if one becomes involved with problems, one will best find out how necessary it is to maintain links and how necessary it is that the party give assistance and exercise its control as well and as widely as possible over the activities of internal affairs organs.

In applying these teachings, the party organs and organizations of the internal affairs organs have increased and strengthened their work and have ensured and are continually better ensuring their collegial leadership and control of district party forums over the activity of the internal affairs organs. Nevertheless, several weaknesses and faults which are observed demonstrate that party leadership and control over the activity of these organs is not at the required level, although the forms and ways of ensuring this leadership and control have been clearly defined by special instructions and directives of the party Central Committee. But these instructions and directives must be thoroughly studied and analyzed, concretized and fully applied. The issue is that not only secretaries of the party bureaus and committees in the branch, but also other party cadres must struggle more in this direction.

The internal affairs branches are part of the system of local state administrative organs, they are the armed executive organs of the people's power. Consequently, the direction and control of these organs are carried out not only by the branch party organs and organizations and by the district party committees, but also by the organs of government authority which is approved by law. This is another very important principle which serves the collegial direction and control of the work of cadres and, on the whole, of the internal affairs organs, a principle which must be better understood ideologically and must be put in practice with responsibility by the executive committees of the district people's councils and by the organs of internal affairs.

But, as practice attests, while the subordination, direction, control and account rendering before party organs are understood and are being better realized, the same is not happening with the organs of government. Until now, the heads of branches, the sectors of security and borders, have not duly felt the dependance and responsibility that they have to report and render account also before the organs of government. In this regard to this affect, an influence for ill has also been exerted by the incorrect opinion that ostensibly only the police are subordinate to the government organs in the district and only they must render an account of their activity before them. Such an opinion and attitude attests to the ignorance of the necessity of the powers of the government organs, especially the heads of executive committees of the district people's councils, in order to exercise control--according to the platform, of course--even over the organs of internal affairs. It also attests to the ignorance of the necessity of the party directive that the internal affairs organs take

directives and tasks not only in a party line, but also in a state line, and that the whole of their activity is exercised at the grassroots for the full application of laws, ordinances and regulations approved by the organs of government.

It is indispensable that the implementation of the direction and control of the activity of internal affairs organs also by the government organs be conceived and appreciated as a factor and another important way to the further revolutionization of this activity. There must be stronger punishment for concepts of presumption, haughtiness and isolation, observed in some cadres of the internal affairs organs, in order to give a full opportunity to government organs to direct and assist more in the strengthening of the system, in the implementation of socialist laws for increasing effectiveness in the preventive struggle against crime.

In the present situation, it is a requirement that the political-educational work of the party in the internal affairs organs create a more complete picture in everyone of their communists, cadres and workers regarding the peril posed by imperialist-revisionist circles for our socialist country.

In the struggle against us, the imperialist-revisionists use many forms and means, one of which is espionage and subversive activity. In the face of this reality, our socialist state sets the task of taking measures for the discovery and punishment in time of this hostile activity because, despite the repeated failures that they have undergone, the capitalist and revisionist states do not renounce their plans against our country. All the more now, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, after the discovery and defeat of the largest and most dangerous plot headed by the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, we must not have the impression that our struggle with enemies outside and within ends. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "the party and the people must always be aware of enemy activity, external or internal, they must never forget it" (Enver Hoxha, "The Anglo-American Threat to Albania," p 418).

The enemies do not lay down their arms; on the contrary, in practice they have intensified their actions against our country. In order to achieve their strategic aim, they coordinate their actions and cooperate with each other. This was clearly apparent also in the organization and direction of the counter-revolutionary organization headed by the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu, where the CIA, UDB and Intelligence Service coordinated and intertwined their actions against socialist Albania. This, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must always be kept well in mind and we must take such measures as keep us always open-eyed, with sleeves rolled up, fully mobilized and vigilant.

The party organizations in the internal affairs organs must extend and improve their work for effective political, ideological, cultural and professional education of cadres, they must further sharpen revolutionary vigilance, strengthen discipline and combat readiness. The cadres and the personnel of these organs must "increase their efforts to always better know the forms, tactics and methods used by the enemy in order to continually become skilled in their art and work, and to discover, prevent and strongly punish, in time, every hostile and criminal activity (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the PLA," pp 97-98).

PROSPECTS OF THIRD TV CHANNEL ASSESSED

AU301132 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 29 Mar 84 p 1

[Interview given by Eng Augustin Bernadovic, director of the Radio Communications Administration in Bratislava, to Milan Kratky: "Is a Third TV Program on the Horizon?"--place and date of interview not given; opening and closing grafs are SMENA introduction and conclusion]

[Text] Not in all communities of the Slovak Socialist Republic is it possible to receive the signal of the first television program and the situation in the reception of the signal of the second television program is even more unfavorable. The problem of eliminating these shortcomings was the subject of the following interview.

[Kratky] What percentage of the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic is covered by the signal of the first television program?

[Bernadovic] According to our data, 98.1 percent of the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic has an adequate reception of the signal of the first television program. It is being ensured by four basic and nine booster [vykryvací] transmitters as well as 537 relay stations.

[Kratky] Which areas are included in the 2 percent of territory not covered by this signal?

[Bernadovic] You cannot speak of areas. The problem concerns individual communities in mountainous areas. The reception possibilities in the communities concerned are being gradually improved by the construction of relay stations, of which we build about 10 a year.

[Kratky] What is the situation in the coverage of Slovakia by the signal of the second television program?

[Bernadovic] I cannot yet give you any precise information for the reception situation in individual districts is now under study. But about 67.6 percent of the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic has adequate reception of the signal of the second television program. It is being ensured by 15 basic and 2 booster transmitters as well as 100 relay stations.

[Kratky] Which areas are not systematically covered by this signal?

[Bernadovic] This applies to some parts of the districts of Levice, Nitra, Topolcany, Prievidza, Ziar, and Hronom and Humenne.

[Kratky] Where did you recently put into operation transmitters for the second television program?

[Bernadovic] At the end of last year, this was the case in Roznava, Stara Lubovna, and Sturovo. These transmitters are part of the network of basic television transmitters and they will expand the reception of the signal of the second television program in the districts of Stara Lubovna and Roznava and, partially also in the districts of Velky Krtis, Nove Zamky, and Komarno.

[Kratky] And what about other districts?

[Bernadovic] The reception of the signal of the second television program in the districts of Levice, Nitra, and Ziar and Hronom will be markedly improved in 1986 when we will put into operation a basic television transmitter in Banska Stiavnica, on the Sitno mountain. In the next 5-year plan, we are planning the construction of a basic television transmitter in Snina in Humenne District. Reception problems in areas in which the construction of basic television transmitters has been completed are being dealt with through the construction of relay stations.

[Kratky] Are the technical-economic conditions for the transmission of a third television program being prepared?

[Bernadovic] The question of the introduction of a third television program is currently in the stage of work on a technical-economic study entitled "Introduction of Direct Reception of Radio and Television Programs From Satellites." From the viewpoint of establishing the technical prerequisites, experimental operation is being prepared for the years 1987-89. The start of permanent operation depends on the position and possibilities of Czechoslovak Television, which is responsible for the contents of the broadcasts. According to present assumptions, the third television program may begin broadcasting in 1990.

For the time being, all data concerning the possible launching of a third television program are only orientational. The proposals concerning the [needed] volume of financial resources as well as the timetable for the implementation of the proposed actions have not yet been approved. Possible changes in this respect may thus be reflected in the area of the proliferation of television broadcasting on our territory.

CSO: 2400/291

INCREASE IN QUALITY OF UNIVERSITIES, PROFESSORS CALLED FOR

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Prof Eng Pavol Hornak, chief of the World Technology Department, Technical University, Bratislava: "Urgent Tasks in Higher Education"]

[Text] The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee inspired us to assess the realization of the 16th CPCZ Congress resolutions on progress in scientific and technological education at our universities. We proceeded from the fact that the new nomenclature and orientation of academic disciplines plays a vital role in the management of our institutions of higher learning. The demanding tasks require a creative approach in preparing graduates with a sense for working in groups, for coordinated analytical abilities, as well as synthesizing talents, enabling them to draw universally valid conclusions from a variety of individual analyses. We also expect them to adopt a systemic approach in the resolution of difficult and complex organizational problems. An important requirement levied on university graduates is their ability to communicate with the working people and deal with them tactfully.

As already stated, education in a broader profile is effected through a higher-quality educational and training process, and scientific application at our institutions of higher learning. The results of a restructured curriculum in individual disciplines show that both theoretical and practical subjects of instruction are becoming the center of attention among university professors. As demonstrated by research in this area, without a uniform common academic foundation in individual higher schools with identical or similar orientation, it would be difficult to teach specialized subjects with the help of new, progressive forms of instruction, such as, for example, interdepartmental work.

It is natural that new disciplines emerge under present conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. As a result, we find changes in existing curricula and introduction of new academic disciplines. This may be illustrated by the establishment of the School of Architecture at the Higher Technical School in Bratislava.

We must also keep in mind that duplication in specialized disciplines with small attendance at different universities does not satisfy our needs in the material and technical sphere of providing the necessary number of scientific educational personnel, and in improving the structure of instructor collectives. On the contrary, fragmentation leads to increased cost of instruction per graduate, and negatively affects the professional and political training of highly qualified specialists. It is not difficult to understand that concentration of students in individual disciplines at specific schools is much more effective, both economically and academically. It makes it possible, for instance, to build laboratories for several types of related research and introduce students more intensively to scientific and specialized work.

It goes without saying that higher quality in scientific work cannot do without a systematic build-up of the experimental production base of the higher schools. It is also essential to improve the technical outfitting with proper instruments, modern instructional aids and equipment. This requires better utilization of automation in the university management apparatus for scientific and technological operations, as well as foreign contacts in this area.

We place equal stress on equipping worksites with computer technology. The university computer centers of the institutes for computer technology must put more emphasis on coordinated internal organization and relationships among individual disciplines, in order fully to apply computer technology in our scientific educational efforts.

To master the current rapid rate in scientific and technological advances, it is mandatory to make a broad range of scientific technological and economic information easily available to the staffs and students of our universities. We must devote attention to linking the individual university study and information centers with the state-wide system, as well as with the information systems of the other CEMA countries.

The demands levied on university teachers are great. Under our conditions, we require that they organically combine education and science in their instructional work. It is literally the task of the day to reassess thoroughly the scientific and pedagogical qualifications of each teacher, reflecting the requirements of each discipline and the state plan for scientific and technological development. The department chiefs responsible for cadre assignments must assume a more active role in this respect than heretofore, and act with more vigor against indolence on the part of some teachers. Consequently, I believe that the selection of university professors is not best served only by tenure appointments. Valuable advice for the selection process was provided in the words of Academician V. Hajek, chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, who in a PRAVDA interview with members of the academy on higher effectiveness in basic research stated: "Our employment contracts with scientists are of a certain specific duration, at most 5 years. Upon the expiration of this period, the contract must be renewed, at which time the contribution of each individual is freshly evaluated. Those who are not up to their task have to depart."

In recent years, we have seen a tendency to involve universities to an increasing degree in the realization of state policy on technology. In the case of some university professors, however, there are still manifestations of academic parochialism and a lack of understanding of the inevitability of joining the universities with practical experience. This again confirms the correctness of the requirement to set up a uniform system of assessing the performance of university professors.

Despite the above-mentioned shortcomings, we have in recent years established a number of joint scientific-production and scientific-pedagogical work-sites which have achieved notable successes. This activity could, however, be much more economically effective if we were able to organize it in a better and more purposeful manner. Consequently, it would be beneficial for the central organs responsible for scientific, technological and investment development, in cooperation with the Czechoslovak and Slovak academies of sciences and the ministries of education, to draw up a set of principles for regulating, managing the rewarding joint scientific and pedagogical ventures.

An important task confronting us in the coming period is to improve the structure of university staffs. There are still cases where professors and lecturers are replaced without consideration of the prescribed intentions in the development of academic disciplines. It is true that one cannot effect structural changes in the teaching staffs from day to day. We can and must, however, without delay put an end to shortcomings at the very initiation of the selection process. This means that in the interest of higher quality in our scientific and educational efforts at universities, it is essential to prepare in the coming period a concrete training program for university professors and lecturers, reaching all the way to 1995.

At the universities today we emphasize that it is necessary to improve the practical utilization of students' scientific and specialized work. If the efforts of students and their teachers are systematic, their scientific and specialized endeavor can serve not only science as such, but also the quality of training future graduates.

After all, universities train new scientists and, as shown by research in this area, we need to improve the selection system of candidates, create a demanding creative environment at the school worksites, and foster the requirement that these new scientists publish their works in periodicals designated for this purpose. Special attention must be given to the work of the instructors whose primary role is to teach and assume responsibility for the professional quality of the candidates' work. There is no question but that scientific research programs designed for candidates should more closely reflect the needs of our national economy. For this reason, the Czech and Slovak commissions for awarding scientific titles and honors must not ignore the words of RNDr M. Olejar, who said (as reprinted in PRAVDA of 19 January 1984): "It is not desirable for society to award on the one hand scientific titles to people who have never worked in this field, while on the other overlooking those who have indeed worked in the field of science but somehow 'missed' meeting the necessary formal requirements."

The chairman of the Commission for Science, Technology and Investment, Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina, stressed at its founding convention that "the building of a developed socialist society, under existing political, social and cultural conditions in the CSSR, depends above all on accelerated application of current scientific and technological achievements to our socialist construction." We, university staffers, must also contribute to this task. Consequently, our first priority is better management of our research and development base of which the institutions of higher learning are a part.

9496

CSO: 2400/276

BRIEFS

SOVIET TANKER'S MINING EXAMINED--Prague, 27 Mar (TASS)--The mining of Nicaragua's ports is not only a cynical manifestation of the latter-day piracy, but also a direct violation of one of the basic principles of international law--the right to freedom of navigation, the newspaper ZEMLEDELSKE NOVINY writes today. It is also beyond any doubt, the newspaper points out, that the mines were planted in Nicaragua's Pacific ports with the consent of the White House, if not on its direct instruction. Therefore, the Soviet Government in its note of protest over the damage which the explosion of the mine caused to the Soviet tanker "Lugansk" holds with good reason the U.S. Government responsible for this grave crime, for this barbaric action which demonstrated anew that the U.S. administration keeps pursuing in practice the policy of state terrorism. Such actions of Washington jeopardize gravely the cause of peace and international security, ZEMLEDELSKE NOVINY stresses. [Text] [LD271237 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 27 Mar 84]

CSO: 2400/291

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LUTHERAN LEADERS' CONFERENCE SEES EMIGRATION ENDANGERING CHURCH

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28 Mar 84 pp 3-4

[Article by sk. datelined Berlin 23 Mar 84: "GDR Churches' Concern About the Wave of Emigration--Appeals to the Sense of a Homeland"]

[Text] The Lutheran church leaders' conference recently dealt with the wave of emigration to the FRG. Nothing has been said about the result of the closed session. They had discussed there, to be sure, at length, the problems caused for the church by the growing number of departing GDR citizens, but they had not been clear about what could now be said publicly about this matter, according to a semiofficial statement on the church leaders' conference. According to a report from EPD (Evangelical Press Service), the bishops conference of the Evangelical Church in the GDR was asked to deal with the church policy questions in the emigration wave.

Loss of Substance for the Church

The church conference reflects the perplexity and uneasiness of the GDR churches about the mounting flood of emigrants to the FRG. As those who left and are leaving often are among the persons that have taken an active part in church activities, the danger of a loss of substance for the church in the GDR is likely, which would also affect the Catholic Church in the Diaspora.

East Berlin Cardinal Bishop Meisner, in Rome this week, has indirectly asked Catholics in the GDR to remain. In a sermon to pilgrims, Meisner affirmed to the believers they had come there "to return home renewed in our faith" and to be able to tell the brothers and sisters: "In our homeland here it is good to be. Here let us build cottages and be a church for the salvation of the world."

That the cardinal's words were evidently addressed directly to the GDR Catholics is suggested by that his sermon was transmitted from the Vatican Radio in German and monitored by the West Berlin RIAS station, which can be received in most parts of the GDR. As the Catholic side has indicated, the number of emigration petitions shows regional differences, however. According to reports received in the west, in the Dresden area, where TV and radio transmissions from the FRG cannot be received, relatively many exit applications have, conspicuously, been submitted.

In the Evangelical Church the situation is likely to be similar. According to the publisher of EVANGELISCHER PRESSEDIENST in West Berlin, Henkys, who is very familiar with church developments in the GDR, in some regional churches in which GDR citizens are employed who lost their previous jobs because of their exit applications, personnel problems have arisen because of the more generous granting of exit permits. There were also regions of the church league where such problems relating to the emigration wave had, however, not arisen.

The Church as the "Home"

Both the Catholic and the Protestant side, in appealing to the faithful to remain, argue with the "homeland" concept. There are differences of interpretation, however. Cardinal Meisner maintained distance from the state, that could not be missed, when he suggested to the GDR pilgrims in Rome to return home in their Catholic faith, build cottages there and be a church for the salvation of the world. The Catholics' web of relations to their homeland is being tailored to the church by the episcopate, not to the state. The state of the GDR was not even mentioned in Cardinal Meisner's sermon.

For the Evangelical Church, which sees itself as a "church in socialism," the relationship between church and state, in contrast, plays a considerable role. At the synod of the Mecklenburg Evangelical Church in the second half of March, Bishop Ratke appealed to the GDR citizens to remain while he also appealed to the government to see to it, in turn, that people "have their homeland here and like to stay." A condition for the willingness to stay in the GDR was that the officially practiced "disciplining" of people would not become standard procedure. If the government was serious about the often quoted sentence "Help plan, work and govern," citizens should also be involved in the administration of power.

For More Elbow Room in Decision-Making

In a unanimously adopted resolution at the synod, the GDR leadership was asked to grant more leeway for decision-making and action to the people in the country instead of insisting on adapting to preassigned norms. That precisely had been one of the causes for the greater number of exit applications. It was part of the meaning of the homeland concept to be responsible and to be assigned responsibility. By this appeal to the GDR government the Protestant church leaders are likely to have described fairly accurately the state of affairs that led to the mounting flood of exit applications, mainly by young church members.

Turning to the Church

The Evangelical Church in the GDR, through the Martin Luther commemorative year 1983 and its independent posture in the "peace issue" during the official GDR campaign against the NATO rearmament, has found greater resonance from the population in the country. Church membership is growing. More and more young people are seeking the way to church though they grew up without church ties and have no or very little knowledge about the church and church beliefs. The motives for young people to turn to the church were recently explained by Schwerin Land Youth Minister Lohman. What they were mainly looking for was aid for living and a space for self-realization. What they had trouble with in the GDR was the "loss of language" and the prevailing official insistence "on

figuring everything out and organizing every movement." Still more clearly Saxon Land Bishop Hempel last year described the motives for an increasingly recalcitrant youth in the GDR. The problems of the young generation were caused by the desire "for the right to anger and to expect candor from the older generation." The GDR had made available "too few places for unloading your anger."

Getting Rid of Critical Independent Youths

The influx of young people is not without problems, to be sure, for the Evangelical Church. Having little leeway for action in the atheistic state of the GDR, church leaders, on the one hand, are always eager to avoid the impression that the space of the church is increasingly turning into an asylum for critics of the system. On the other hand, the church leaders are likely to be aware that the young activists also are somewhat like the cats among the pigeons in the church. The appeals by both the Protestant and Catholic Church to the membership, to remain at home, therefore are likely also to be due to the concern that of all people the critical and independent ones, those who are indispensable for the self-assurance and sense of value in the church, are turning their backs to the GDR in increasing numbers. The more generous handling of exit applications suggests that this precisely is among the objects of East Berlin's emigration policy.

5885

CSO: 2300/369

PEACE DEMONSTRATORS ARRESTED AT LEIPZIG FILM FESTIVAL

Church, State Concord Ends

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Dec 83 p 52

[Article: "Take Along a Toothbrush"]

[Text] The year of [Martin] Luther in the GDR was supposed to end harmoniously, as intended by church and state. On the eve of Martin Luther's 500th birthday, the SED leadership invited clergymen from all over the world to attend a ceremony in the State Opera House on Unter den Linden. Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker then received the spiritual leaders afterwards for an informal chat in his office in Marx-Engels Square.

The next day, readers of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND could admit their leading atheist holding a friendly talk with the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, well known for his anti-communist views.

The Protestant Church was not about to be outdone: 2 days later on 11 and 12 November, when the final chord of the Protestant memorial service for Luther in Leipzig was struck, the place was virtually swarming with ecumenical dignitaries. But those groups which had helped to shape the [year's] image in the seven church conferences held during the year stayed away under gentle pressure from the Church: nothing was to be seen of the Church peace movement in Leipzig.

The harmony didn't last long. Hardly was the Year of Luther over than the SED demonstrated that Christian protesters against the missiles in both the West and East could no longer expect any leniency.

On the evening of 12 November, about 120 peace advocates, mainly young people around 20 years old, assembled in front of the Old City Hall in Leipzig. They lit candles and silently formed a circle.

There were about 50 people at an initial candlelight demonstration a week earlier. The People's Police [VOPO] allowed them a half-hour and then sent the protesters home. The reason: "This is an unscheduled demonstration."

On 12 November, VOPO forces and State Security [STASI] agents in mufti needed only 3 minutes. On the command of "Disperse immediately! Put out the candles!", they took action: the peace candles were snuffed out and personal data on most of the demonstrators were noted.

The event was the talk of the town for days in the slow-paced provincial city. The result spurred the peace protesters on to further action a week later. At 7 pm on 18 November, about 40 candlebearers showed up downtown in front of the Capitol Cinema, where Leipzig's international documentary and short-subjects film festival was scheduled to open a half-hour later.

This time the guardians of law and order were there after only 2 minutes and they hit out hard. Many people were herded into police cars and taken away. A Dutch filmmaker said that the police acted "very brutally."

Some of the demonstrators later received summons for interrogations lasting for hours, in which STASI questioned them about their motives and ringleaders. Others were put under pressure at their jobs. The female leader of the state Youth Club in Lindenthal near Leipzig was suspended from service.

Six people were detained longer by STASI, including 53-year-old theater director Klaus Fiedler from Dresden, who just happened to stop by the "Capitol." His offense: he voiced his displeasure concerning the actions of the police.

Among the others arrested are three persons who have been having a hard time at best in the petty bourgeois GDR: Sven Thomas Wetzig and Olaf Schubert, both in their early 20's, are half-African; 21-year-old Patrice Castillo, arrested together with his German wife, is actually the son of a Guatemalan resistance fighter, but he has also had problems with East German society for years.

All three had joined the Christian peace movement because they found sympathy for their problems in the Church. Also taken into STASI custody was the sixth person, 20-year-old Bettina Muenzenberg. The five demonstrators had been under police observation for a long time.

Embarrassingly for GDR officials concerned about their international reputation, numerous Western filmmakers witnessed the spectacle and were primarily concerned only with causing a further commotion. They formed a committee which protested to the festival's directors against the arrests, demanded an interview with Deputy Minister of Culture Horst Pehnert and urged all festival participants, "at the invitation of the festival's directors," to attend an information meeting scheduled for Wednesday of week before last at the Hotel Astoria.

The interview with Pehnert actually took place. The deputy minister asked for understanding for the "very sensitive reaction" of authorities who, he said, had only done their duty. Finally, Pehnert said that there is reason to believe that the class enemy is involved in such actions. He would not comment on the fate of those arrested, however.

But a public festival debate on the police action was too much for security agents: two men in civilian clothes blocked the Astoria's entrance to GDR filmmakers, saying that the Westler committee, under the picture of Erich Honecker, was permitted to inform only Western filmmakers about the ministerial interview.

STASI disciplined unruly Western journalists by using a proven method: their accreditation, it threatened, was related only to the festival and if they were thinking of writing about other topics, it could affect their next planned visit to the GDR.

East German peace advocates cannot be swayed so easily anymore. A new joke was circulating in Leipzig last week: "Question for the LEIPZIGER VOLKS-ZEITUNG: When buying candles, is it advisable to take along a toothbrush and pajamas?"

Personalia, Racial Mixture

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 5 Dec 83 p 5

[Article by B. Langenbach-Fochler: "Persons Arrested at Film Festival Still Not Free"]

[Text] At least eight people have now been in jail in Leipzig for 2 weeks because they stood holding candles in front of the Capitol Cinema at the opening of Leipzig's "World Films for World Peace" documentary film festival. Police ended the peace demonstration quite brutally, beating some of the young people until they were bleeding, dragging some by the hair to trucks, and held interrogations which lasted for hours. The incident was witnessed by some guests of the documentary film festival and an international committee composed of eight festival participants interceded on behalf of those arrested. In order not to endanger the festival, the committee kept its efforts strictly confidential and has thus far hardly informed the public of its proceedings.

As usual, there are no official reports on the arrests. Passersby were also apparently arrested, but it must be assumed that they have been released. A 53-year-old GDR director, who stood next to the young people observing them, was held for several days, however. The names of five persons arrested, and who have still not been released, have meanwhile been learned. They are 18- to 20!year-old's from the Leipzig theatrical world.

Sven Thomas Wetzig, born 20 March 1963, received a professional secondary-school diploma and was working as a cemetery gardener, as he had no hopes of gaining admission to a university. As a half-African, he was also subject to racial discrimination in the GDR from childhood on. He was often denied membership in youth clubs and many Germans called him "Ali." He has been accustomed to interrogations lasting hours since his 14th birthday. For 3 years he has almost constantly held the "PM 12" supplemental identification card, which does not permit travel to other socialist countries, requires notification of trips outside the bezirk, and is considered "suspect" in the case of

investigations. Even during the brief periods when he temporarily held a normal identification card, he was not permitted to travel abroad without justifying his reasons.

Olaf Schuberg, from Leipzig, is a cook. He is also half-African and has been unemployed for a year despite intensive efforts to find work. He found a temporary job only at the Leipzig Fair. He has also held only a "PM 12" identification card since July 1983, after which time he was not allowed to travel to the CSSR. He was told that the reason for this was: "for your protection." He has no previous criminal record. He can now be charged with his involuntary unemployment as an offense against the duty to work ("asocial behavior"), which carries a penalty of 1-2 years in jail.

Patrice Castillo, born 29 September 1962, is a carpenter by trade and was employed in a museum up until his arrest. Even as the son of a Latin American exile and despite his thoroughly white skin color, he is only a stranger to real German socialism. The fact that his father, Otto Rene Castillo, was a member of the documentary film festival jury in 1961/62 is of no help at all. When his father, a friend of Ernesto Cardenal, was shot as a guerrilla in Guatemala in 1967, a film was made on his life ("Recollections of Otto Rene Castillo") and was shown in Leipzig in 1979. Patrice Castillo was issued a "PM 12" identification card twice in 6 months.

Anke Castillo, his wife, born Anke Hofmann on 10 March 1963, is a nurse by profession. She was interrogated all night long following her arrest, released and then picked up again 5 hours later. Her child, 1 year-old, is named Christian Ernesto. Uncertainty as to what will happen to children is, in the case of political prisoners, usually a favorite means of exerting pressure to obtain "cooperation."

Bettina Muentzenberg, born 12 November 1963, wanted to be trained as a post office employee. When she became ill for a rather long period, her trainee position was eliminated and she was offered a job as a cleaning woman. She recently worked as a domestic since she could not find other work.

None of these five persons arrested has any previous criminal record. Constant harassment and attempts by government officials to incriminate them have wrecked their untarnished GDR record. With their increasingly critical position, they found a willing ear and sympathy only in church circles. They were regularly picked up on the street, at home and at work, and interrogated intensively, being branded a group hostile to the GDR. Their continuing imprisonment for holding a burning candle is hardly legally justified. Friends in West Berlin are afraid that an example will be made of them--for the present situation in the GDR and the Leipzig theatrical world in particular.

12580

CSO: 2300/187

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES SEEKS LARGER ROLE IN RECOVERY PLANNING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Feb 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Tomasz Miecik: "The Presidium of PAN Has Conferred. The National Economy Awaits the Help of Science"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] met on 28 February. It conferred under the direction of the chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Prof Dr Jan Kostrzewski. Among the many matters discussed, particular attention was drawn to the draft of the program for academy activities in the years 1984-1986.

The draft of the program for academy activities in upcoming years introduced for discussion underscored the fact that the exceptionally difficult situation of the nation and the limitations of international exchange, as well as the great research potential of PAN institutes, are creating conditions for PAN to undertake, aside from basic research, utilitarian tasks on a broader scale than has hitherto been the case.

The national economy demands the immediate help of science. It is necessary to find reserves in research possibilities of scientific institutes as well as to establish organizational forms making possible the development of work in accordance with the prioritized needs of the national economy.

The basic procedure shall be the selection of subjects from the research scheduled to be carried out. It will be possible to institute the results of these subjects in societal practice. In this line of activity it is necessary to include the scientific-research centers cooperating with PAN institutes as well as the scientific committees of the academy. Cooperative bonds shall be absolutely necessary between the institutes of PAN and large industrial establishments and R&D centers of the economy. Modifying how research is organized and financed will serve to move us in this direction of work.

Main Directions of Research

Problems which seem especially important for the national economy were discussed. Among these can be found such research themes as; the analysis of economic reforms from the aspect, among others, of raising the receptivity of the economy

to innovation; the rational exploitation of national assets; coke chemistry, which, in the opinion of the scholars, should become one of the main specialties of Polish industry; electronics, with specific reference to production and application of microprocessors; technical improvement of energy use; improvement of the exploitation and use of raw materials with special reference to non-renewable materials; environmental protection, including water supply management; putting to use the accomplishments of molecular biology in, among other areas, industry, medicine and environmental protection, and above all in agriculture; the rural and food economy; and health protection.

This list of the most important and current research directions is included in the subject matter connected with the shaping of the contemporary Pole's personality. It is also connected with research into the actual system of values, aspirations and attitudes of various groups and social strata with respect to the needs of the nation. Such research is urgently needed for improving programs for the education and upbringing of youth.

Modifications in the organizational sphere, among other things, are supposed to serve such a reorientation of PAN's activities. In fact, for example, concretization and selection of prioritized themes in scientific cooperation with other countries are supposed to come about. It was said that wider contacts with socialist countries are definitely needed, especially with the Soviet Union. It is necessary to strengthen the role of PAN's scientific committees, which should constitute a point of contact between science and economics.

Levels of the Dialogue

Members of the Presidium of PAN underscored that the academy possesses particular authority to cooperating with the state authorities. This is so in that PAN represents all scientific communities through its own members, the network of scientific committees, and ties with scientific societies throughout the nation. One level of such cooperation is constituted by the academy's participation in advising on the preparation of legal acts concerning spheres of activity of science. This same level also includes PAN's part in working on the long-range program of the structural transformation of our economy.

Preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Science are another level of the concrete, working participation of science in economic life serving the development of science and the fulfillment of its obligations relative to the needs of the nation. This congress, it was claimed, should become an occasion for documenting, through the scientific community, the involvement of science in the affairs of the nation and the social utility of research.

12512

CSO: 2600/733

PRON OFFICIAL CRITICIZES FRG 'REVISIONISM'

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 5, 31 Jan 84 p 10

[Text] One of the chief tasks of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] is a concern for the common weal and the Polish reasons of state.

It is therefore fully comprehensible that we cannot be unheeding of those utterances and opinions being disseminated in the FRG that directly affect our innermost national interests.

This subject was referred to at the plenary meeting of the PRON National Council by one of its members, a former active member of the Union of Poles in Germany [ZPN] and at present a vice chairman of the PRON Provincial Council in Koszalin, Henryk Jaroszyk.

Here is what he said:

"In the FRG, the opinion is being spread that there are still 1 million Germans and former German citizens in Poland. Czaja and even the representatives of government circles have in mind the former Polish minority that previously possessed German citizenship.

"There is no need to explain that citizenship has nothing in common with nationality. As a former active member of the ZPN, I wish hotly and solemnly to protest against such insinuations. For that is not only a wily insinuation but also a perfidious one, which insults the dignity of all those who for many centuries have defended their mother tongue and their national culture.

"Thousands of active members of the ZPN perished in concentration camps, prisons and on the scaffold: Poles from Warmia, Silesia, and from the districts of Lubusz, Zolotow and Bytow. In 1945 historic justice was fulfilled. These districts were returned to the Motherland and the victims of the brutal, insidious germanization policy lived to see their freedom. This brutish germanizing action, unprecedented in the history of nations, did not bring credit to the German nation that called itself a nation of thinkers and a nation of justice.

"And today these people dare to proclaim there are still a million Germans in Poland. I would like to remind them that that already in 1945, in all liberated

districts, a verification action took place. Those Poles who had previously German citizenship applied for Polish citizenship. And I wish to recall again that only those persons who proved their Polish ancestry acquired Polish citizenship, whereas Germans, in accordance with the agreements, were deported. Therefore, there are no Germans in Poland. So, this is deceitful propaganda that must be firmly opposed. I have not the slightest doubt that this protest will be joined by all former members of the ZPN residing in the northern and western districts.

"I think that a crowning expression of this protest would be the symbolic renewal of the anniversary of the act of the joining of the ZPN Rodlo banners with the Vistula, concomitant with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the return of the northern and western districts to the Motherland, under the auspices of PRON."

The proposal of Henryk Jaroszyk was carried by acclamation. The details concerning the motion will be considered at the next meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council.

1015

CSO: 2600/706

EDITORIAL TRIGGERS ANTI-REFORM FIRE FROM ENGINEERING LOBBY

Problem-Solving Approaches of Engineers, Economists

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 83-1 Jan 84 p 3

[Editorial commentary by Stanislaw Albinowski: "Economists and Engineers"; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] When I was very young, I wanted to become an engineer, a designer of engines. At that time, at least, I was very taken with the automobile, not so much for its utilitarian value as for the excellence of its design and its mechanical efficiency and reliability. Keep in mind that I am speaking of the Polish Fiat 508, and not the 125 or 126.

Life brutally severed my love for engines in 1946. As it happened, it was impossible to combine studies at the polytechnic with a job from 8 am until 4 pm. When I thought about what I should do with myself, I concluded that the next best thing for me would be--economics. It is, after all, the knowledge of the operational efficiency of a machine, but the living machinery of society. That is how I thought.

/In 1946, Warsaw University still did not have an economics faculty, so I applied to the UW Legal-Economics Faculty./ So many young devotees of this science (is economics a science?) attended the first lectures given by an assistant teacher from the economics chair that there were not enough seats for everyone in the huge auditorium. The first words spoken by this assistant, whose name I no longer remember, went:

/So you wish to become economists. Let me first present the conditions that you must fulfill to this end./

The auditorium was filled with the shuffling of notebooks being opened and the rustling of pages being turned. The assistant continued:

/First you must know English and higher mathematics.../

The auditorium was plunged into a mood of doubt and resignation that the assistant dispelled quickly by announcing that "for now" we would read Ricardo in Polish. Then there began an exegesis on the "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation," whose sole pre-war copy lay in the hands of the teaching assistant. Marx did not exist; nor did many others.

My studies were interrupted by a serious illness in 1948. I was only able to return to them--or rather start over--after several years. By that time, UW already had a Faculty of Political Economy. The changes that had occurred were considerable, but one-sided and it was to take several more years before a state of equilibrium--still not always stable--was restored to the cognitive theory of the various fields and directions of economic thought, to the jargon with which the economist was to be familiar and to the various research techniques. I completed my studies before this state was achieved, and although I hold a diploma, I consider myself to be self-taught. /Constantly forced to confront with reality that which I was taught inside those proud walls, since that time I have waded alone through the muck of opposing views, arguments and myths./ Without this and without the friendly counsel and advice of the memorable Prof Oskar Lange, today I would not know how to think in economic categories. That is to say, I would not know to aim toward thinking correctly in such categories. I freely confess that I have many sins on my professional conscience! I am only comforted by the fact that they concern capitalism rather than socialism.

All these reflections come to mind when I consider how many people in Poland are able to think "professionally" in economic categories. Have the higher schools of economics instilled this mentality into 150,000 graduates? This is not to speak of a million "older economists" with a high school or so-called "on-the-job" education. And what does "economic thinking" really mean; how does it differ from "technical thinking," for example?

In a paper presented in 1966 at a scientific session honoring the millenium of the Polish state, Prof Witold Kula opened his remarks with these words:

/ "Economy is man's struggle with nature over wresting from it the indispensable means of his existence. Economy is the complex of interpersonal relations established in the course of this struggle, to wage it successfully." /

These are the two aspects of the phenomenon of economy. One is the domain of engineers and the other is the domain of economists. The task of the latter consists of defining and making use of the rules whose observance is an indispensable condition for the harmonious and "motivational" development of relations among people as the producers and consumers of material goods.

The work of engineers and economists is linked by one common feature of basic importance: the principle of operational efficiency. But the very nature of the "substance" they deal with predetermines their different approaches to the problem.

The engineer's problem is primarily that of how to build a machine that has technical parameters that are better than former parameters, that is more

functional, safer to run and the like. The economist's problem is more complex. /He must answer the question whether the effect produced by this new machinery can be attained at a lower cost or with the use of other production elements./ But before this, the economist must answer whether this effect is needed at all. Human and social needs are limitless, but the indispensable funds for meeting these needs are always limited. Thus, the economist faces the choice of the operational goal, above all, while the engineer primarily faces the question of operational method.

/The fundamental practical importance of the question of the goal of economic activity emanates from the improper structure of industry built up in former years through enormous material and financial outlays, largely upon foreign credit. It has become a major cause of the present crisis and has had a retarding effect upon the economic renewal process./ Now and for many years to come we pay the price for the past decade's having thought in engineering-prestige and mythical, but not economic categories. I use the past tense, but perhaps I ought to speak of it in the present tense, since all of the resistance encountered thus far to the rebuilding of this structure demonstrates that such thinking did not "go out" with the old Planning Commission leaders.

Yet another characteristic differentiates the approach of the engineer and the economist to the efficiency problem. For the designer of an engine, this is primarily a problem of the machine's efficiency in its specific designation. If he wishes to increase the horse-power of a gasoline engine, this may be achieved, roughly speaking, by increasing its capacity and/or by increasing the compression coefficient of the fuel mixture in the cylinder chamber. /Everything here is calculable and obvious, including the compromises. No one pretends that the Polonez or the Ford Fiesta will accelerate like a BMW or Porsche. The economist, on the other hand, has a more difficult task: he knows that in a given situation, management efficiency can be increased at the expense of a cut in employment. However, the implementation of such a concept depends upon many political and social factors over which he himself has no control but with which he must deal./

In a machine, cost and effect occur almost simultaneously, while in the economy, they are separated by the difference of time. People, both the objective of the management process and a production factor, do not always want to wait. Often they have good reasons for this.

The engineer deals with an inanimate object, while the economist deals with a living society. Compromises are unavoidable here, although rarely calculable, and from the viewpoint of the economy "per se," they are more detrimental here than elsewhere.

All these differences mean that the engineer and the economist must think in different categories and must conceive of the problem of efficiency differently. Marek Rostocki, an electronics engineer by training and an economics writer by profession, offered me an explanation of a phenomenon that I was attempting to grasp but that I was unable to express succinctly. It is this: /"An engineer in essence thinks according to a zero-one system, based on the same principle as the operation of a computer. The machinery either works or it does not. There is no third option."/

It is true that a machine cannot partly work. Thus, an engineer's assessments can be and are unequivocal and less complex than those of an economist, who does not have the right to think according to a zero-one system. This is precluded by the "substance" he works with. I think that this should be kept in mind, especially now, when engineers and economists are quarreling over whether or not the economic reform is working. My view of this problem, the view of an economist, is the following: we must save the reform, but we will not do this by means of touch-up operations.

Engineers Not 'Educated Robots'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Feb 84 p 4

[Commentary by Bronislaw Lewicki]

[Text] Thinking is different for all of us. Usually it means all sorts of deliberations, especially over the so-called turns of history. There were times when it was said: "do not think; just work"; then the saying, "Thinking has a great future" came into vogue; now it is the season for "economic thinking."

Until the era of epithetless thinking arrives, let us busy ourselves with contrasting "economic thinking" with "technical thinking," as Stanislaw Albinowski, a seasoned journalist and eminent economist, did in his 31 December 1983 TRYBUNA LUDU article entitled "Economists and Engineers."

As I read Albinowski's text, I wondered what purpose he had in contrasting the two kinds of thinking--economic and technical.

Following a long, but interesting introduction, the author explains his purpose. He reiterates the well-known fact that the improper structure of industry built up in former years through enormous material and financial outlays, largely upon foreign credit, has become a major cause of the present crisis and has had a retarding effect upon the economic renewal process. "Now and for many years to come we pay the price for the past decade's having thought in engineering-prestige and mythical, but not economic categories."

Was there absolutely no thinking in economic categories in the past? Many eminent economists supported the economic actions of the past decade with their personal and scholarly authority. I believe that Stanislaw Albinowski is also familiar with their names. Nor was there any dearth of very eminent economists that warned against the consequences of the economic policy being implemented. Was either of these groups not thinking in "economic categories"?

In economics, it is difficult to forecast everything with absolute certainty. Sometimes the most valid creations of "economic thinking" are bitter disappointments. The effect of economic activity is contingent upon a large number of factors that are not always predictable. The shock evoked by the world oil crisis, that also had its effect upon our economy, is a good example of this. While Stanislaw Albinowski underscores this weakness of the economy, he

cites the failure to think in economic terms as the cause of all our economic misfortunes of the past period. The fallibility of forecasts and the relativity of statements certainly do not cancel out the suitability of economics and its tremendous importance for proper economic development. However, it cannot be contrasted to technical activity, as the author does. While he can protest here and quote the opinions of those that say that economics and engineering are two aspects of economical management, this does not prevent him from asserting the superiority of economics over engineering.

But let us return to the crisis. Now and in the past, much has been said about its causes, but I never have read anything on this subject that was more persuasive than the Ninth Party Congress resolution. It says that the major cause of the crisis, including the economic crisis, was political relations. We read in the resolution: "The faulty exercise of authority led to negative phenomena in the economy. The investment decisions that were made arbitrarily and without considering the real needs of society and economic realities fundamentally impacted on the breakdown in agriculture and industrial production."

This means that erring economic decisions were a secondary phenomena of the structure of that period's sociopolitical relations.

The denial of these relations is a sort of regression into the historically not unprecedented workers "economism" movement, under different conditions and in a different form. Then as now, however, there is a tendency to isolate economics from the totality of social phenomena. Whether this enriches the science of economics and broadens its horizons is a completely different issue.

Recognizing and observing economic laws as premises for proper economical management has nothing in common with treating them as a major cause of an economic crisis whose roots lie in non-economic phenomena. While I appreciate fully the role and the importance of economists, I find it difficult to reconcile myself to the values put on the professions of the economist and the engineer over and over again in the article. This does not raise the authority of one, nor does it lower the authority of the other--it simply stirs up unnecessary ferment.

In comparing the work of the economist and the engineer, Stanislaw Albinowski suggests that the problems the economist must solve are more complex than the engineer's. The engineer's problem "is primarily that of how to build a machine that has technical parameters that are better than former parameters, that is more functional, safer to run and the like. The economist's problem is more complex." The important thing here is the very conceiving of the question of who is the more important--the economist or the engineer.

Thus, the engineer's task is to design a piece of machinery that is an improvement over a former design. Of course, one can conceive of an engineer that does nothing but improve existing machinery, which Stanislaw Albinowski illustrates by the example of the automobile. Does this, however, exhaust

the engineer's tasks? If so, who designs new products and applies new engineering solutions? If we are to believe that the engineer's only role is to "perfect," we first must forget that Edison discovered the electric light bulb, and engineers built suspension bridges before the economist's profession came into being. In our own times, it was not elves that invented radio, television, radar, reaction engines...

Should we also allow ourselves to imagine that elves work in such an important field of engineering as production engineering? In English it is called "know-how" and good money is paid for it, even by us Poles. An example is Prof Rut's license for forging crankshafts, purchased by world technological giants.

According to Stanislaw Albinowski, engineers are engaged only in machine design. Thus, as the author maintains, they deal with an inanimate substance, unlike economists, who deal with a living substance. If we notice only the designers and planners, there fade from our field of vision the large number of engineers that organize production and direct great masses of people. These engineers must assume the responsibility before workers for everything good and bad that happens in the plant and outside it. Thus, they are generally responsible for the relationships and ties that arise between people in the course of society's material production.

It is these engineers, above all, that have the headache of worrying about wages, procurement, stoppages, absenteeism and all sorts of economic indicators that begin at every work station. They must take into consideration the moods and the various kinds of structures that characterize employee groups. Over and over, such engineers are tested in their practical ability to structure interpersonal relations. What sort of substance is this: only living or only inanimate?

The fact that the article ignores engineers that organize production raises doubts about the accuracy of the generalizations made on the basis of partial observations regarding designers and planners.

My intention is not to place engineers above economists. Both are needed. However, we cannot treat engineers as educated workhorses that deal with a tiny fragment of economic activity and leave the rest to the economists.

When he writes about automobiles, Stanislaw Albinowski emphasizes for the second time that "the economist, on the other hand, has a more difficult task" (than the engineer--B.L.). I wonder what instrument he uses to measure the degree of difficulty of the tasks that these two professions face?

The truth is that the engineer and the economist think in different categories. On the other hand, the statement that "they must conceive of the problem of efficiency differently" is questionable. Thus far we have believed that management efficiency (which is what we are talking about) is one entity and that it means maximizing results while minimizing human and machine work input. Who, then, understands it to mean something different?

Once again (for the third time) Stanislaw Albinowski sets the work of the economist over that of the engineer. An "engineer's assessments can be and are unequivocal and less complex than those of an economist." "The proof of this is the unambiguity and precision of an engineer's thinking compared with the economic alternative." [this quote does not appear in Albinowski's article, T.N.] I agree that the mathematician's tools used by the engineer are unambiguous. But sometimes he has the same problem as the surgeon: "the operation was a success, but the patient died." The patient's death correlates to the stores of old scrap iron in Poland and throughout the world that hold rusting, technologically unsuccessful machinery and equipment that are evidence of the sleepless nights and the creative torments of whole teams of engineers. Their tales can provide the stuff of more than one tragedy.

The author of the article, writing that the economist has more complex tasks than the engineer, ties this in with the economic reform. It is a timely topic, but the success of the reform does not depend at all upon solving the nonexistent dilemma of what is more important: washing one's legs or neck?

'Imaginary Dilemma'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Feb 84 p 4

[Reply by Stanislaw Albinowski]

[Text] It is a fundamental principle of journalism that the reader is always right. This means that what is important is not what the author intended but what the reader read. However, in the case of editor Bronislaw Lewicki's polemic, I must say that views were attributed to me that I did not express and that are impossible to read into my article, unless motivated by wounded ambition or other emotions. And to charge me with having treated "engineers as educated workhorses" is sheer nonsense.

The first misunderstanding consists of his attributing to me the notion that I /contrasted/ [boldface] people of different /professions/ [boldface], while I actually considered differences in mentality, i.e., in ways of economic and technical thinking. Mentality is formed by more than knowledge alone. It is a way of reacting to reality. Engineer Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, a chemical engineer, effectively built the economy of interwar Poland and is the author of the interesting "Outline of the Economic History of the World." Michal Kalecki, one of the most eminent Polish economists, studied at the polytechnic. There are many such examples.

B. Lewicki maintains that I "contrasted" these two mentalities (later shifting the issue to the plane of professions) and asks "what purpose" I had in doing this. While I shall not answer such a hackneyed question, I do note that there is a difference between analyzing differences and making contrasts.

B. Lewicki's entire argument that I somehow try to prove the /superiority/ [boldface] of economists over engineers and thereby set values on their work is fabricated. Anyone that deals with the economy should think in economic

terms. I continue to maintain that the problems the economist must solve are more complex than those facing the engineer, due to the partial incalculability, the unpredictability and the difficulty of molding many of the phenomena that are the "substance" with which the economist works.

Whole volumes may be written about the causes of the economic crisis in Poland, but this issue was not the subject of my article. To reduce the issue to a single statement, however, I repeat my idea that the failure of economic thinking lay at the foundations of all the measurable causes. This is confirmed in the fragment taken from the Ninth Congress resolution, which is cited by B. Lewicki. What else but the result of the failure of economic thinking are decisions made "arbitrarily and without considering the real needs of society and economic realities"? What the factors are that prevented correct economic thinking is another issue.

The title of Lewicki's polemic is: "A Nonexistent Dilemma." I would go further to say that he discusses an imaginary dilemma, one that he himself has imagined.

'Capitalist' Economic Reform

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 84 p 4

[Abridged version of open letter to Stanislaw Albinowski from Wieslaw Jurewicz, chairman, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] Science and Technology Committee for Economics and Economic Reform*]

[Text] In connection with the editor's article entitled "Economists and Engineers," published in last year's final issue of TRYBUNA LUDU, I am taking the liberty of submitting some thoughts of my own that the article has engendered, (...) adding a handful of comments on the subject of the directions of the reform of the system of management and the economic system (...) in Poland.

The first question that comes to mind is: Must the system be reformed by transforming it into a system like the capitalist one?

In the documents of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, it is written that "the economy will function on the basis of central planning and the use of market mechanisms..." (thesis No. 35, KRG [National Economic Council]).

Notwithstanding, many solutions in the economic reform indicate that clearly different tendencies dominate. This has happened due to the overwhelming presence of forces acting on behalf of the application of extreme solutions. This system of operation is very deeply rooted in our mentality.

*Editorial note: We were unable to publish in full Docent Jurewicz's letter, which covered 14 pages of our publication format. We cut it to 7 typed pages and indicate the cuts by ellipses. The published text retains all ideas of substance and critical remarks.

We cannot ignore the fact, however, that the avowed opponent of the planned economy, in the course of the political struggle that has been being waged in our country, has successfully forced through a number of solutions that have been effective in causing chaos and disorganization in economic life.

This has led to the formerly unnoted increase in inflation and, thereby, to tremendous losses for society.

Should not our entire intellectual effort be directed toward projecting the sort of modernization of organizational and economic systems that could improve considerably the operation of old systems? Such a method is applied universally in the world of engineering. Reason dictates that we approach organizational and economic problems in the same way.

In our practice of the reform of the economic system, (...) completely new, uncoordinated mechanisms were to be put into operation from day to day. We know what this has led to, and we also know how realistically it has been assessed by the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm.

The authors of the reform currently use various arguments to justify what has happened.

They say:

--that when the reform was set in motion, the market was unstable, there was no glut on the market and in general only bad conditions prevailed;

--that we are still in debt for dollars;

--that the reform is an enormous, very difficult undertaking in which we must experiment;

--that those opponents of the reform found within the administrative apparatus do the most damage and that is why we must reorganize and markedly reduce this apparatus;

--that the reform has not been put into practice consistently in its ultimate version;

--that at least something is changing for the better in the economy.

/It is difficult to take these arguments seriously./ [in boldface]

--If economic stability, a market glut and other conditions favorable for society had existed several years ago, who would have been so strongly in favor of economic reform? Only those that have long been in favor of changing not only the economic system but the system in Poland, or those who stood to gain by causing tremendous commotion and economic decline (...)

--Other socialist countries are in debt for dollars, and their debts are significant. In some countries, the per capita debt is higher than in Poland. In these countries, however, the production increases are several times greater than in Poland. Thus, despite the debt, the economy is able to grow (...)

--The fact that the reform has not been implemented consistently in its ultimate version is no justification for its failure. Conditions for the full implementation of forecasters' plans do not exist, nor will they exist for a long time. That is why updates are indispensable that make the reform realistic.

For example, the creation of a competitive production structure needs time, large outlays and a good program for creating new small, intermediate and, if need be, large competitive enterprises.

--I cannot agree that the situation has improved, when most enterprises that are involved in processing are using 50 to 60 percent of their production potential, and some are producing at levels just over 30 percent of their production volume several years ago. While this is occurring with a slight decline in employment, it is disproportionately smaller than the production decline. Wages have increased sharply and prices have jumped unjustifiably. This situation continues.

Small wonder that such phenomena occur, when until recently the taxation system functioned to increase the costs of production and to curb production, and the price system still works in the same direction.

Our crisis is a supply, not a demand, crisis. Every production increase must count.

The previously-mentioned phenomena lead to an increase in inflation. One need not exert himself to look for other causes (...)

The recently enacted amending of the basic laws on prices, enterprise self-financing and their socioeconomic taxation system raises warranted hopes that the economy will be able to be revitalized through the most intensive operation of enterprises in directions that are more desirable than those taken in the past.

I agree with the editor when he says that we must define the goals of economic activity. Engineers have long believed that these goals are primarily the needs of society that must be systematically recognized, projected and modeled over the longest time perspective possible. This is the fundamental task of the central planner that works in the interest of society.

When an engineer served in the capacity of one of the chairmen of the Planning Commission [KP], analyses of our society's needs and projections and models of these needs were the subject of the efforts of a bureau that was specially set up for this purpose within the KP. Over the course of under 2 years of its existence, this team generated much valuable data. But the following chairman, an economist, dissolved the team and scattered the results of the work among private household archives (...)

In the West, structural changes are made at the risk of the personal fortunes of the proprietors of concerns, enterprises and handicraft. The resultant losses are great, for when several producers rush forward to meet consumer

needs, the combined total of the financial and material means committed is significantly greater than it would be if this were implemented under a planned economy. However, we must plan well. (...)

Incidentally, I would like to ask the editor, as an economist, while there has not yet been created a system for assessing the expediency of developmental tasks from the viewpoint of the benefits to society in general. We continue to be grounded in a system of calculating the results to be achieved by a given economic organizational unit [plant and equipment], as in the capitalist system. (...)

With regard to your other points, Mr Editor, we think along totally different lines. While we do not disagree with regard to the merits of the issue of leading our economy along the road of its normal functioning and development, we part company with respect to the assessment of the methods that should be used for this and the assessment of the areas of expertise that can do this best.

I do not share the view that the economist must attend primarily to the goals of activity and the engineer must focus mainly upon operational methods. This is an essential error in the assessment of the engineer's work. If he first did not define the goals of his work, he would not be in a position to select the proper methods to achieve them. This truth is so obvious that we stopped discussing it a long time ago. It is axiomatic (....)

At the conclusion of your article, you express your...economist's view... of the need to save the economic reform, but without...touch-up operations...

One senses that you bear a grudge against engineers for having brought about these touch-up operations, which I can say with satisfaction is not very far from the truth. You express your grievances against engineers by expressing such opinions about them as the one that they are only able to count to two in a zero-one system. This compels me to point out several essential issues.

I had the good fortune to work for many years with economists in enterprises that worked with engineers to develop efficiency and innovative measures in the economy, aware as they were of the weak impact of the economic system. They had to work within a system they themselves had not created. It had been imposed on them by high-level economists whose names out of the past and present I could readily mention. The list is by no means shorter than the list of engineers that performed the highest functions within the state.

What are the economist and his engineer colleague to do if the laws of the system of the method established by the body of the highest-placed economists do not fit reality? (...)

Effort, thinking and initiative are unnecessary.

Throughout the industrial world, a high level of economic achievements is attained primarily through technology and organization stimulated by means of the operation of the economic system. They are necessary to this system (...)

In the polytechnical schools, students are provided with knowledge from the fields of machine design and production (technology) and from the area of production organization management and economics. The professors that once taught me said that a good designer is one that knows how to construct a machine he has designed and how much it will cost to produce it. Today I teach my students the same thing. (...)

Economic thought is an attribute of the engineer. He does not only count to two, but he does count with the aid of sometimes very complex models that render the process of the laws governing various phenomena. (...)

In this brief reply to your article, it is impossible for me to discuss the many other aspects of the issue. But I believe that what I have already written shows that we do not think, computer-like, in zero-one terms. Incidentally, this machine came into being as a result of the genius of the engineer's mind. Its purpose (and not its method) was to be the tremendous expansion of the potential of the utilization of knowledge, including statewide knowledge, primarily for planning and decision-making.

We cannot reduce the role of the engineer to a workhorse that is incapable of assessing the goals and results of the activities of those in other professions, some of whom think they have a monopoly on knowledge in economic matters.

Sincerely,

[signed] Docent Dr of Engineering Wieslaw Jurewicz, chairman of the NOT Science and Technology Committee for Economics and Economic Reform

Political Struggle for Poland's Future

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 84 p 4

[Reply to open letter from Wieslaw Jurewicz by Stanislaw Albinowski; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] My new year's article on the different mentalities of the engineer and the economist spurred an unexpected series of reactions. Among those readers that responded positively and negatively, the letter of Docent Dr of Engineering Wieslaw Jurewicz holds a special place in every regard. Before I enter into a detailed reply to the general criticism of economic reform principles contained in that letter, I must make one introductory remark.

Jurewicz's letter was sent to our editorial staff on 26 January 1984, along with a cover letter written by the NOT chairman, Dr of Engineering Aleksandr Kopec, requesting that it be published. In this way, we understand that we are not to treat the opinions contained in the letter as merely those of Docent Jurewicz. While the statement is justified that these views are held

by the chairman and by a part of the NOT leadership, it is difficult to determine to what extent they correspond to the attitude of the entire engineering community.

I refrain from replying in-depth to the charges made against my reflections on the economist and engineering mentality here, since I already addressed them as a side note to my polemic with B. Lewicki. I only regret that the last sentence of Docent Jurewicz's letter belies his otherwise courteous tone. This "allusion" is both unwarranted and unnecessary: no one that knows my writings can accuse me of granting some one individual or group a monopoly on knowledge. Incidentally, this attitude often causes me problems.

To anyone that was offended by my comparison to the zero-one system, I assure you that I did not expect this to upset anyone. In my estimation, this comparison does not carry a pejorative connotation. I would be very happy if economic issues were calculable and unequivocal enough to allow for use of a zero-one method in the analytical and decision-making areas. How many useless polemics we could avoid, how much paper and printer's ink we could save and how much more effective the country's economic machinery would be! It is very characteristic that NOT members were not offended when editor A. Leszczynski* wrote in these columns of the "negative qualities of technical thinking," but they accused me of all sorts of awful intentions when I attempted to analyze the differences in the way the engineer and the economist view the efficiency question. Is that because I was right on target? But this is an unimportant issue in light of the essential contents of the letter, which concerns economic reform.

Docent Jurewicz's current letter is the second attempt of a part of the NOT leadership to attack the economic reform publicly. The first, which took place in June 1983, was a draft "update" of economic reform mechanisms, presented at a meeting of the Commission for Economic Reform Affairs by NOT chairman Aleksandr Kopec and Docent Wieslaw Jurewicz. The commission flatly rejected it and the polemic moved into the columns of the daily and weekly newspapers. In conjunction with this polemic, I wrote in the 31 July 1983 issue of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE:

/"The recent NOT proposal actually aims toward restoring the administrative-command system. I merely told chairman Kopec that this is politically a challenge, which should not have the least chance of being implemented, for economic reasons as well. At the same time, I believe that the supporters of the reform must give foremost consideration to what is to be done, particularly in light of this challenge, to get the reform going. Otherwise, all of the assurances that there is no turning back from the reform will be empty slogans."/

*Andrzej Leszczynski, "Walory and ułomnosci myślenia technicznego" [Positive and Negative Qualities of Technical Thinking], TRYBUNA LUDU, 13 July 1983; [see JPRS East Europe Report: Economic and Industrial Affairs 84431, 29 Sep 83]

At the time, I stated this position rather gently. Now, however, given Docent Jurewicz's letter, I must present it more forcefully so that where I am coming from on this polemic is quite clear. And so, I share the NOT position on one point only: I agree that the new system of operation of the economy that was to have been ushered in by the economic reform has not yet begun to function according to the goals defined in reform assumptions. Thus, I disagree in part on this point with minister Wladyslaw Baka, but I shall not discuss these "tactical" differences here, since my current polemic is not with Professor Baka, but with Docent Jurewicz. On the other hand, the total dissimilarity of my position compared with the views represented by a part of the NOT leadership is of a "strategic" nature.

Here is Docent Jurewicz's basic thesis: we should depart from the reform and return to the previous system that requires only "modernization-type" improvements. I hold a diametrically opposed position: the reform should be saved, i.e., the new system of the economy's operation should be caused to begin to operate within reality. To this end, we must reach the indispensable "critical mass" that allows us to surmount the forces that encumbered the previous system and the structures introduced in former decades. A comparison here to firing a rocket into orbit from land would be adequate. I am not entering into considerations of what we should do to enable the work of reform to reach this indispensable critical mass, since this is a topic in and of itself. I must mention, however, that my remark in my new year's article that we will not achieve this effect through "touch-up operations" referred not at all to "engineers" as Docent Jurewicz claimed, but to those responsible for the implementation of the reform and, more broadly, to its adherents. This was clear from the so-called context.

In the past as now, the setting in motion of the reform mechanism has depended upon solving the dilemma whose specific gravity is not fully appreciated. Hence, the full implementation of the reform would reduce considerably the influence, the prestige and the position of people from the circle of the middle and the upper level of the engineering-economic administration. This administration was the carrier and beneficiary of the command-directives system. On the other hand, the implementation of the reform has depended upon the advance, or at least the simultaneous creation of the appropriate economic-organizational infrastructure, beginning with the way in which the central plan is developed through the operational conditions of enterprises. This infrastructure could arise only as a result of the appropriate central decisions; however, the existing administrative cadre retained basic control over these decisions. While no one said this aloud, evidently the authors of the reform tacitly envisaged that the carriers of the old system would tie the noose around their own necks--for the good of the economy of socialist Poland. But that did not happen and now the same people that torpedoed the reform say that it is not working and want to return to the command-directives system.

The unerring logic of this action, however, is not based either on the logic of arguments or on practice that, as we know, is the most important test of theory and the criterion of truth. Thus, practice that has lasted over 30 years proves irrefutably that in the economy, which has already attained a

particular degree of production development and diversification, the command-directives system demonstrates three fundamental shortcomings that disallow it: --it permits voluntarism and blatantly wrong decisions on the macro-level; --it impedes innovation in economic processes, limits the flexibility of management organizational units and fixes old structures whose existence prevents or complicates development and, at a certain stage of accumulation, leads to crisis, i.e., when the possibilities for laying blame for wrong decisions or for shifting their consequences to society exhaust themselves; --it inhibits or reduces the effectiveness of economic processes in two ways: first, because the COMMAND-TYPE system of central planning not only cannot optimize outlays on the scale of the entire economy, but also has permanent difficulties with the simple balancing of resources and needs; second, because it restricts the incentive of enterprises and their workforces to increase the effectiveness of management processes, and sometimes even sets in motion anti-efficiency incentives.

Docent Jurewicz claims, however, that the perfection of this system is a "rational" order, that it should be modernized and then the entire economy will function effectively. Must we remind him how many times attempts have been made in our history to "perfect" it and what resulted? And nothing good could result, just as the attempts to "modernize" threshers into combines were doomed to fail.

The basis of the perversity of Docent Jurewicz's arguments lies in his charging that reform assumptions have failed; instead, he ought to have accused those that hamper the implementation of the reform. The chaos and the disorganization of economic life that Docent Jurewicz writes about are primarily the result of the fact that the real infrastructure of the old system has been retained in the legal infrastructure of the new system.

At present I am not making a critical analysis of the part of Docent Jurewicz's letter that concerns the polemic with "justifications of the authors of the reform." I was one of those and not merely as a member of the commission, but also as one of the eight members of the editorial committee. I view the reform assumptions critically; I said this publicly in 1981. Nonetheless, I believe that they were optimally close in their entirety to what could be achieved by preserving the consensus of the entire commission. The authors of the reform, however, prepared only assumptions, while it lay in the sphere of economic policy to create conditions for their implementation. And then, as now, barriers have existed--both those set up by the opponents of the reform and real barriers in the sphere of the concrete economic and social situation.

In the fragment of the letter in question, Docent Jurewicz takes a generally subjective look at the issue of the extent to which economic policy could circumvent or eliminate these barriers. But this is a problem to be solved separately, and the assumptions in this area must be directed in the main in a direction that Docent Jurewicz carefully avoids.

/--must we reform our economy in a "system like the capitalist one"?;
--"the avowed opponent of the planned economy, in the course of the political struggle that has been being waged in our country, has successfully forced...";
--"only those that have long been in favor of changing not only the economic system but the system in Poland" could aim toward such a reform of the economy;
--"We continue to be grounded in a system of calculating the results (...) as in the capitalist system"./

I have purposely "condensed" these accusations by arranging them together. There are three elements that compose my rejoinder.

/First,/ I must ask Docent Jurewicz to whom specifically, personally among the members of the Commission for Economic Reform Affairs he ascribes the aim to change the system in Poland and to restore capitalism?

The very posing of this question exposes the ridiculousness of Docent Jurewicz's imputations. I could end here, but I must finish the matter.

Thus, /secondly,/ does one really need to give a lecture on political economy to demonstrate the basis of the difference between capitalism and socialism and to show just how meaningless are the docent's attempts to say or suggest (four times) in his letter that our economic reform is a ticket for our return to capitalism?

/Thirdly,/ it must be noted that, of all the public attacks on the economic reform made to date, Docent Jurewicz is the first (and, hopefully, the last) to use the charge of the return to capitalism. This fact really means a sharpening of the political struggle over Poland's future. In this move, the opposition has already made use of the trick that represents a violation of party ethics and political standards in general.

/I believe that the most dangerous opponents of progress in socialist Poland are those people that, while constantly quoting the classical theoreticians, do not understand or do not wish to understand the historical necessity of constantly adjusting production relations to the state of the production base and the given level of development; that block the introduction of a system of functioning of our economy that would enable an increase in national income and public consumption through the implementation of an economic incentive for increasing the effectiveness of economic activity. This view is not contingent upon the direction of training or the type of profession one practices, but upon the way in which one understands socialism./

8536

CSO: 2600/806

LIST OF NEW PZPR OFFICIALS RELEASED

PZPR Provincial Committees Secretariat Members

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 15 Feb 84 pp 20, 21

[Text]

| | <u>Provincial Committee First Secretaries</u> | <u>Provincial Committee Secretaries</u> |
|----------------|---|--|
| Biala Podlaska | Czeslaw Staszczak | Kazimierz Nowak Andrzej Szot Wieslaw Obszanski |
| Bialystok | Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk | Mieczyslaw Doroszko Stanislaw Suchodolski Mikolaj Kozak Tadeusz Trzaskowski |
| Bielsko-Biala | Andrzej Gdule | Jerzy Kopel Kazimierz Ledwon Zbigniew Krystian Franciszek Strzalka |
| Bydgoszcz | Zenon Zmudzinski | Zbigniew Dombek Ryszard Zawiszewski Leonard Maciejewski Janusz Zemke |
| Chelm | Alojzy Zielinski | Stanislaw Adamiak |
| Ciechanow | Kazimierz Paryszek | Bogdan Babicz Jozef Trzcinski Zygmunt Jazowski |
| Czestochowa | Wladyslaw Jonkisz | Henryk Jqderko Wojciech Rydecki Tadeusz Kardas Jerzy Sypek |

| | <u>Provincial Committee First Secretaries</u> | <u>Provincial Committee Secretaries</u> |
|--------------|---|---|
| Elblag | Jerzy Prusiecki | Jerzy Gliszczyński Tadeusz Osko Władysław Mankut Ryszard Rutkowski |
| Gdansk | Stanisław Bejger | Leon Brancewicz Bohdan Daszkiewicz Mieczysław Stefanski Anna Szalach Mieczysław Chabowski Joanna Michalowska- -Gumowska |
| Gorzow Wlkp. | Florian Ratajczak | Piotr Mackiewicz Józef Przekwas Henryk Piekarski |
| Jelenia Gora | Jerzy Golis | Andrzej Kaminski Sylwester Samol Bolesław Plaza Bogusław Stepień |
| Kalisz | Jan Janicki | Henryk Kostrzewa Jerzy Mazurek Henryk Magaj Jacek Ratajczak |
| Katowice | Bogumił Ferensztejn | Stanisław Barczyk Jan Rachwałik Marian Rauszer Czesław Brozek Henryk Rembierz Jan Zielinski |
| Kielce | Maciej Lubczyński | Jarosław Motyka Tadeusz Świerczyński Henryk Oziebłowski Józef Winiarski |
| Konin | Lech Ciupa | Kazimierz Bachera Andrzej Krutki Władysław Janicki |
| Koszalin | Eugeniusz Jakubaszek | Jan Kuc Ryszard Wisniewski Henryk Pacjan |
| Krakow | Józef Gajewicz | Kazimierz Augustynek Józef Gregorczyk Józef Szczerowski Jan Czepiel Władysław Kaczmarek |

Provincial Committee
First Secretaries

Provincial Committee Secretaries

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------|--|
| Krosno | Henryk Wojtal | Wieslaw Kalucki Stanislaw Roczniak Jan Luczynski Ryszard Stqczek |
| Legnica | Jerzy Wilk | Piotr Czaja Zbigniew Korpaczewski Kryzysztof Jez Jerzy Szczepaniak |
| Leszno | Jan Plociniczak | Franciszek Murawski Tomasz Skorupski Stanislaw Sawicki Zbigniew Zygmunt |
| Lublin | Wieslaw Skrzydlo | Michal Bokiniec Antoni Janoszczuk Andrzej Szpringer Tadeusz Borszynski Witold Przybylski |
| Lomza | Wlodzimierz Michaluk | Henryk Bialobrzesci Jan Ryskiewicz Mieczyslaw Czerniawski Marek Strzalinski |
| Lodz | Tadeusz Czechowicz | Andrzej Hampel Kazimierz Orzechowski Maria Wawrzynska Wieslaw Janio Jaroslaw Pietrzyk |
| Nowy Sacz | Jozef Brozek | Grzegorz Jawor Tadeusz Rabianski Ludwik Kaminski Janusz Tomalski |
| Olsztyn | Jan Laskowski | Tadeusz Jelski Grzegorz Nowicki Jan Malinowski Leszek Stankiewicz |
| Ostroleka | Henryk Szablak | Borys Chorowiec Zdzislaw Matuszewski Michal Langiewicz |
| Opole | Eugeniusz Mroz | Eugeniusz Brudkiewicz Kazimierz Suchecki Zdzislaw Niedzielski Andrzej Walczak |

Provincial Committee
First Secretaries

Provincial Committee Secretaries

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--|
| Pila | Michal Niedzwiedz | Stanislaw Hiller Wieslaw Los Bogdan Kopec Jan Snioszek |
| Piotrkow Tryb. | Stanislaw Kolasa | Stanislaw Boczek Karol Sekowski Zenon Kaszuba Mieczyslaw Szulc |
| Plock | Adam Bartosiak | Zdzislaw Osiewicz Antoni Wrobel Wieslaw Paszkiewicz |
| Poznan | Edward Lukasik | Zygmunt Kyc Stefan Piotrowicz Jan Mielcarek |
| Przemysl | Zenon Czech | Leslaw Chowanski Zdzislaw Januszewski Marian Domaradzki Ryszard Turko |
| Radom | Bogdan Prus | Wlodzimierz Kocinski Jan Rybarczyk Bogdan Misztal Adam Wlodarczyk |
| Rzeszow | Franciszek Karp | Zenon Cyprys Marian Magon Bernadetta Kilian Marian Skubisz |
| Siedlce | Jerzy Swiderski | Henryk Augustyniak Adam Stepniak Leonard Milczarek Bogdan M. Wojtczuk |
| Sieradz | Janusz Urbaniak | Klemens Jozefowicz Boguslaw Sliwczynski Henryk Krawczyk Czeslaw Tomczyk |
| Skierniewice | Janusz Kubasiewicz | Krzysztof Klem Lech Nowacki Jozef Marchewa Franciszek Wirski |
| Slupsk | Edward Szydlik | Tadeusz Jarecki Tadeusz Sowinski Miroslaw Kondrat Stanislaw Witoslawski |

Provincial Committee
First Secretaries

Provincial Committee Secretaries

Suwalki Waldemar Berdys

Wieslaw Kolodziejki
Stanislaw Sawicki
Zbigniew Makarewicz
Wojciech Szczepkowski

Szczecin Stanislaw Miskiewicz

Zdzislaw Pedzinski
Adam Sobiechowski
Jerzy Wieczorek
Stefan Rogalski
Czeslaw Uscinowicz

Tarnobrzeg Janusz Basiak

Stefan Czekaj
Stanislaw Pawlik
Tadeusz Jarocki
Jerzy Zaranski

Tarnow Stanislaw Opalko

Jan Karkowski
Franciszek Rachwal
Wladyslaw Plewniak
Jerzy Sobecki

Torun Zenon Draminski

Kazimierz Czarnecki
Jozef Szymanski
Ireneusz Loba
Andrzej Wietrzykowski

Walbrzych Jozef Nowak

Jerzy Byj
Jerzy Krzywda
Zenon Cyktor
Danuta Mika

Warszawa Marian Wozniak

Jerzy Boleslawski
Stanislaw Galecki
Janusz Patorski
Roman Broszkiewicz
Jerzy Mazurek
Stefan Stypulkowski

Wloclawek Krystian Luczak

Wladyslaw Dolecki
Wojciech Stefanski
Wojciech Ledwochowski
Stanislaw Wawrzonkowski

Wroclaw Zdzislaw Balicki

Boguslaw Kedzia
Tadeusz Kramarz
Antoni Staszewski
Bogdan Kleszczewski
Marian Mazur
Boguslaw Wieczorek

Provincial Committee
First Secretaries

Provincial Committee Secretaries

Zamosc

Wladyslaw Kowal

Wieslaw Cichon
Stanislaw Szafraniec
Zygmunt Mankowski
Bronislaw Witkowski

Zielona Gora

Jerzy Dqbrowski

Roman Czolhan
Jan Rubaszewski
Zbigniew Nieminski
Zygmunt Stabrowski

On the day this issue was printed some of the Committee Secretary positions were not yet filled.

Provincial Audit Commission, Provincial Party Control Committee Chairmen

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 15 Feb 84 p 22

[Text]

Provincial Audit
Commission Chairmen

Provincial Party Control
Committee Chairmen

| | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| Biala Podlaska | Stanislaw Kozakiewicz |
| Bialystok | Aleksander Biszczuk |
| Bielsko-Biala | Wladyslaw Bulka |
| Bydgoszcz | Malgorzata Skonieczna |
| Chełm | Franciszek Gruszkowski |
| Ciechanow | Stanislaw Baginski |
| Czestochowa | Jan Korycinski |
| Elblag | Jozef Makowski |
| Gdansk | Bogdan Kasprzycki |
| Gorzow Wlkp. | Wincenty Krawczyk |
| Jelenia Gora | Jan Czarnecki |
| Kalisz | Kazimierz Danielczyk |
| Katowice | Waldemar Poltorak |
| Kielce | Stanislaw Grabski |
| Konin | Edward Jedrzejczak |
| Koszalin | Tadeusz Judycki |
| Krakow | Antoni Hajdecki |
| Krosno | Jozef Drwiega |
| Legnica | Hieronim Slowik |
| Leszno | Wladyslaw Dudziak |
| Lublin | Eugeniusz Pyc |
| Lomza | Ireneusz Majewski |
| Lodz | Grzegorz Pqgowski |
| Nowy Sacz | Julian Damasiewicz |
| Olsztyn | Wlodzimierz Lewicki |
| Opole | Jozef Strzelecki |
| Ostroleka | Teresa Majchrzak |

| |
|------------------------|
| Tadeusz Pabjan |
| Edmund Krzeminski |
| Czeslaw Kaczmarczyk |
| Bogdan Nalezyty |
| Wladyslaw Kruk |
| Marian Sedzielowski |
| Wlodzimierz Lewkowicz |
| Zbigniew Brunke |
| Zofia Zielinska |
| Anna Brewczynska |
| Wladyslaw Turek |
| Eugeniusz Kotas |
| Eugeniusz Niebudek |
| Wladyslaw Kedziora |
| Maciej Jabloniowski |
| Leonard Zukiewicz |
| Dominik Arendarczyk |
| Eugeniusz Barczynski |
| Henryk Konieczny |
| Jozef Mikoda |
| Miroslaw Szalunas |
| Franciszek Piecuch |
| Stanislaw Bodziony |
| Mieczyslaw Kubicki |
| Kazimierz Drabinski |
| Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski |

Provincial Audit
Commission Chairmen

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| Pila | Henryk Jankowski |
| Piotrkow Tryb. | Zbigniew Czechowski |
| Plock | Eugeniusz Grudzinski |
| Poznan | Janusz Brzozka |
| Przemysl | Eugeniusz Dqbek |
| Radom | Jan Lasek |
| Rzeszow | Tadeusz Dqbek |
| Siedlce | Wieslaw Protaziuk |
| Sieradz | Lech Prysinski |
| Skierniewice | Andrzej Rudzinski |
| Slupsk | Walenty Perychuda |
| Suwalki | Eugeniusz Korniak |
| Szczecin | Czeslaw Lipinski |
| Tarnobrzeg | Stanislaw Lachowicz |
| Tarnow | Henryk Krzyzak |
| Torun | Edward Grzymowicz |
| Walbrzych | Jan Wrobel |
| Warszawa | Ludwik Rzewuski |
| Wloclawek | Zbigniew Filipiak |
| Wroclaw | Jan Wieczorek |
| Zamosc | Zbigniew Grochowicz |
| Zielona Gora | Adam Rolicz |

Provincial Party Control
Committee Chairmen

| |
|-------------------------|
| Wojciech Wojciechowski |
| Wlodzimierz Szewczynski |
| Jan Diugoszewski |
| Marian Olszewski |
| Mieczyslaw Choma |
| Waclaw Lata |
| Julian Krochmal |
| Klemens Ptach |
| Wladyslaw Goslawski |
| Marian Kurowski |
| Jan Jamroz |
| Aleksander Chilecki |
| Zbigniew Gorkiewicz |
| Stefan Struzik |
| Zygmunt Chudeczek |
| Henryk Jedrzejewicz |
| Boguslaw Cybulski |
| Romuald Lerski |
| Stanislaw Kubiakowski |
| Ryszard Polski |
| Kazimierz Waskiewicz |

On the day this issue was printed two Provincial Party Control Committees had not yet elected its chairmen.

CSO: 2600/781

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION FOR GERMAN MINORITY

Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 4 Mar 84 p 31

[Article by H. D. Kley]

[Excerpts] Hermannstadt, the former capital of Transylvania, continues to be the seat of the Lutheran bishopric, and an important seat of learning. The old German, medieval townscape contrasts sharply with the random architecture of the new town and the air-polluting industrial plants at the edge of town.

In Romania, neither Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Good Friday, nor 6 January [Epiphany], Corpus Christi, All Saints' Day, and the Day of Repentance are official holidays; they count as days of annual leave if workers wish to observe them according to Christian tradition. Whoever aspires to a high government job, or a position as a functionary, must deny his religious beliefs. Youths being confirmed are simultaneously members of the state youth organization "Young Pioneers."

The constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania does guarantee freedom of conscience for all citizens. "Free exercise of religion is guaranteed. Religious cults are entitled to organize freely." At the same time, it states: "The type of organization and the activities of religious cults are regulated by law." Thus the state decides which religious groups can be active. It prohibits religious instruction in the schools and, on its part, arranges pro-atheism campaigns. There are no religious broadcasts on the state radio, and in the controlled press one cannot find articles of religious content.

While Ceausescu maneuvered his country into the foreground in foreign policy, internally Romania remained deeply linked to its Stalinist past. Romanians had expected a bit more than solemn words from the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation. When the desire for reuniting families was expressed among the 400,000 Romanian Germans, Ceausescu reacted sharply: "The place of every Romanian citizen--be he Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jew or whatever--is here." Whoever wants to leave Romania is "betraying the fatherland." Although the Bucharest government, after an unofficial talk with former Chancellor Schmidt, permits the emigration of about 10,000 Romanian Germans per year, those wishing to emigrate must expect to lose their jobs and to end up in labor camps for "parasitism."

Church authorities in Transylvania and the Banat, also, are not interested in mass emigration. Pastors and teachers would lose their vocations, were the German ethnic group to shrink more and more. On the other hand, the communities would lose their intellectual and spiritual leaders if teachers and clergymen also were to leave the country. Although only communities of more than 300 people are permitted to have a pastor, many pastorates are vacant and there is a lack of teachers in German schools. The old customs, church holidays and folk costumes disappear as the young move to the cities and the villages become depopulated.

More than 90 percent of the Romanian Germans still have their children baptized in the Christian faith. More and more, there are mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants; as a rule, the bridal couples are married in the Roman Catholic rite. Also on the increase are marriages of Romanian Orthodox Christians with partners of other faiths. Among 23 million Romanians, Orthodox faithful are by far in the majority; their liturgy, churches and monasteries are akin to the Russian and Greek Orthodox churches. Denominational homes for the aged and hospitals have all been nationalized. Renovation of sacred buildings are funded in part by the National Institute for the Preservation of Historical Monuments, and in part the communities have to rely on donations.

Transylvania seems more prosperous, better-kept and more orderly than other Romanian regions. But there, as elsewhere, industrialization was fostered at the expense of agriculture; people stand in line outside the stores as symbols of the socialist economy of scarcity and allocation. Those farming their own land may keep 20 percent of the harvest for themselves, the rest must be delivered to the cooperatives. Frequently there is no sugar, no meat, no butter for weeks on end; barter flourishes all the more; 20 eggs are traded for a sack of cement. Everything moves faster with the authorities if the palms of officials and functionaries are "greased"--an experience which visitors already encounter at the border.

9917

CSO: 2300/337

BRIEFS

TAXES ON CHILDLESS CITIZENS--Romania not only has worries about supplying its population with food, but also about the birth rate. According to a report by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG from Bucharest, in 1983 births exceeded deaths by only 66,500 compared to 103,000 the previous year. At present, the population of Romania stands at 22.6 million, and at the present growth rate, the target figure of 25 million by 1990 will not be reached. As the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA paraphrases the population policy goals of the highest party leadership, anyone who devotes himself more to family, champions the history of Romania. Whoever does not marry by the age of 25 is taxed 5 percent. The same tax is imposed on childless married couples. Therapeutic measures are being increased. Prophylactics remain prohibited, abortions are only permitted for women over the age of 42, or women who have borne at least four children. For the time being, however, it has not yet come to actively stimulating procreation. Unless one considers as such the reduction of TV programming to 3 hours per day. Actually, it cannot be doubted that 25 million people could live in Walachia, the Vltava region and Transylvania. But with the methods employed at present, the country is not able to feed satisfactorily 22 million people. [Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3 Mar 84 p 4] 9917

CSO: 2300/337

CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING BANNED PUBLICATIONS, PLAYS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 84 pp 40-42

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "Prohibitions, Blunders and Embarrassments"]

[Text] A hearing in the Zagreb District Court on the permanent ban of the first issue of YU-EXPRES: its title page carried among other things the editor-in-chief of this magazine--in the nude. (Copies of the magazine which had been printed up were distributed before the ban in--barber and beauty shops!)

In Belgrade the last issue of ZUM REPORTER was banned for similar reasons, in the opinion of the court it had too many lascivious intimations and graffiti in the toilets department.

There have also been echoes, again public, of the ban on BEREKIN and the half-ban on PAVLIHA and the temporary ban on the journal of philosophy TEORIJA because of the implications of two photographs of Lenin and Stalin, condemned for "pornography" (this issue of the journal was incidentally devoted to the topic of political pornography and will reach the public as soon as the editors eliminate the two photos at issue)....

All of these news items should actually pick up our spirits: bans are being talked about in public, the reasons for banning things are being stated in public, and the grounds, which by and large at one time were markedly ideological, are now in the zone of morality, an error, much like tastes, which today it is difficult for anyone to "pin down." The court has one taste, the editors a different taste....

Nevertheless, the debate concerning the humor magazines BEREKIN and PAVLIHA--here and there also has the taste of old disputes and new shoals. It really is an ideological question when one calls upon a humor magazine to have "serious" themes. The present tossed salads of bans in culture can also be taken, then, as a reminder full of warnings. One of them, humorous to be sure, we will find in a man of experience. His name is John Ford, and he was constantly asked: "What is the message of your films?"

The director of all those Westerns gave the lively reply: "When I have a message, I send a telegram!"

There is no doubt that this kind of answer, deceptively dressed up in a cowboy suit, has become precious to many creators in the field of culture; but their messages, especially those subsequently delivered from cultural creations as ideological messages, are one of the principal sources of all kinds of embarrassments, blunders and bans or other similar and perpetually controversial daily political action with which "telegrams" are being exchanged--today in public, yesterday in Aesopian language.

The possible or actual meaning of various films, novels, plays, scientific studies, or even only newspaper articles when they do cause storms of contradiction--especially when they are valuable, since they reveal deeper social currents--usually cover passionate debate like foam.

One such whirlwind around the banning of a book about events in 1968 can illustrate the problem quite well.

We are referring to "Drustveni sukobi--izazov sociologiji" [Social Conflicts--A Challenge to Sociology] by Dr Nebojsa Popov. We recorded, for example, the statement made by Dr Miladin Zivotic, who was not only an actual participant in the events in 1968, but was also in a position to follow the book through the 10 years it took Popov to write it. In a meeting in the Institute of Social Sciences of Belgrade University Zivotic said this inter alia in front of the many "sixty-eighters" who were present:

"Now, from this distance, I think quite differently about 1968 than I did then. Popov's book, which perhaps I find some fault with, might help to shed some new light on the events involving the university students at that time."

Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz said something similar and a bit more radical at one point when he turned to some of the "sixty-eighters" who were present: "You were more leftwingers than fighters for democracy!" And we also recall the recent statement made to NIN by Dusan Pajin, editor at NOLIT, who in 1968 did his graduation paper on Marcuse in Captain Misin's building in Belgrade. For him, from this present vantage point, "1968 was too leftist, even a bit Stalinistic."

Yet Nebojsa Popov's book was banned by court order on altogether different grounds.

The District Court in Belgrade

The justification of the verdict states that the book should be banned because "it portrays the student events in 1968 in a context that implies that that was a chance for society to reject domestic Stalinism and to start out on the road of democratization, and in that context he regards all the actions by the students as socially proper, while he represents all the actions by government agencies and other public figures as a smothering of the democratization of society that had begun."

The most recent whirlwind, perhaps the biggest debate since the war, centered around the craggy "Pigeon Pit." From the strictly political standpoint this case was an altogether new one and therefore continues to be instructive.

After all, once this production was removed from the repertoire of the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad, sharp differences arose even in the political superstructure. They are perhaps illustrated quite well by an anecdote "recorded" after the premiere of the contested production in the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade (the company of "Pigeon Pit" is now at a festival in Nova Gorica, and it has been announced for the Sterija Drama Festival). The anecdote is about a conversation between two officials:

"Is the theme of 'Pigeon Pit' nationalistic?" asks the first.

"Well," answers the second, "when I saw it in the afternoon, at 1800 hours, it wasn't! I don't know how it is in the evening!"

Time Travel on the Repertoire

If we make an outlined history of the blunders, mistakes and bans, we will see that every time, including our own, has them in its own way.

Ljuba Tadic--he remembers a great deal since, believe it or not, he has been an actor for 38 years now!--has explained to us why he began one of his speeches at a conference on freedom of creativity and culture with the sentence: "If I were to open a theater in Belgrade, I would open a theater putting on productions banned right here in Belgrade." (He now tells us: "I consent to be shut up in my own Belgrade milieu--since today that is the fashion.") There are doubts about that theater of his having a worthwhile repertoire. Ljuba Tadic enumerates in one way or another (the mechanics are not essential) the titles of productions which have been banned: from Anouilh's "The Thieves' Ball" (1952), by way of Beckett's "Godot," Popovic's "Caps to the Ground" and "Second Door on the Left" and Mihailovic's "Pumpkins," to Jovanovic's "The Karamazovs" (1981). That series of productions, he says, would most likely make up a better repertoire than many institutional theaters have at the moment in their best form.

Yet this repertoire, like other similar ones, did not come about by intervention of the courts. We can immediately expand "Tadic's theater" with at least one more production: in an interview which Miroslav Krleza gave to Steva Ostojic (see his book "Javni dnevnik" [Public Diary], p 242) the author of "Dialectical Anti-Barbarus" recalled that his play "In Agony," with Sava Severov in the lead role and directed by Stupica, "was removed from the repertoire after the first performance following the premiere as a formalistic and decadent error of bourgeois taste."

That was in November 1946, and immediately thereafter Bojan Stupica also had troubles with a play by Ljubo Jerovaj, since they addressed to him very serious objections that in the production he put the Red Army soldiers on the right side of the stage (in Stupica's conception the piano had to be on the left), and at that time particularly it seemed incomprehensible for the sailors of the "Aurora" to be thrown in the play into some cradle (Stupica liked that kind of symbolism).

When there are no court bans, "there is mysteriousness," even a certain wit-
tiness. Let us describe just one more stratagem for closing down a produc-
tion--one of the stormiest contraindications--the case of the "Pumpkins." The
actors stubbornly defended the production--just as in the case of "Pigeon
Pit," but nevertheless the decision was carried out, the production "died a
natural death" in that the lead actor, after several performances, "took sick
permanently" by agreement.

Because of these and other similar techniques of censorship, the various
fields of culture have each worked out their own jargon: it is said of the-
ater productions that they have been "removed," people in films talk about
"vaulting," about the "refrigerator" or say that the "film is on ice" (one of
the first banned in this way, "Screech Scratch" ("Ciguli miguli") never was
banned by a court, nor was it ever shown in public except in a Zagreb apart-
ment now and then--and it always had all its papers "in order"), while writ-
ers talk about "mandatory shelving" or, more recently, "changes of reviewers."

We do not recall how many such changes Antonije Isakovic's "Tren 2" [Moment 2]
went through, but we know for certain that Selenic's "Pismo-glava" [Heads-
Tails], also a novel about the dramatic year 1948, waited 10 years to be
printed.

Like many other works of art, these two books were perhaps at issue most of
all because they carried on their shoulders that heavy load of historiography,
memoirs, and of journalism in general, which unfortunately had not prepared
the way for culture and which, at least in the case of true art, can only
serve as material, since art cannot serve as their replacement.

No Arrests, Even if That's What They Want

The first ban which Slobodan Selenic recalls personally was the one concern-
ing the newspaper DEMOKRATIJA [DEMOCRACY].

Selenic says: "We SKOJites [members of the Communist Youth League of Yugosla-
via] were given an order to burn it."

The author of "Pismo-glava" distinguishes the period immediately after the
war "when as a formal matter there were no bans, but not much of anything
like that could get by," and then the later period, when the "court order was
final--there was no possibility of a public reaction to the ban" and "the
present moment, when what people think about a particular ban is expressed
loud and clear" (incidentally, in answer to the question under what condi-
tions he would justify any ban at all, Selenic answered: "Only in wartime!").

The writer Milisav Savic had something interesting to say from the vantage
point of cultural development at the meeting on culture and freedom of cre-
ativity already mentioned. Among other things he related the development of
Yugoslav culture first of all to the "well-known break with socialist realism
as the official direction for art and way of thinking. We all know that that
break gave birth to splendid results. There are dozens and dozens of works
of art dating from the fifties and sixties which are today taken as lasting

treasures of this culture and this society. The break, we also know, was no simple matter. Disputes between representatives of diametrically different conceptions of art broke out with greater or lesser intensity from time to time all the way up to the mid-sixties. In any case modern art celebrated the victory. The new disputes in and about art began in the late sixties. They were also related to broader social developments and events. That was a time of social ferment, of strong politicization of young people, university students above all, a time of fierce and fruitful debates concerning the future development of our society."

Milislav Savic recalled that some of those debates "recreated" political condemnations and court bans: he also recalled a phrase coined at the time and associated with films—the "Black Wave."

Once again, then, the well-known problem arose in relations between art and reality, a problem which, there you have it, is still topical.

One of the points which Savic made in his statement was this: "If someone said that poets should [sic] be arrested, I would add that poets should not be arrested even if that's what they want."

If we understand these words as an allusion to the Djogo case, for instance, it is worth adding that the entire case—by the classic law of contraindication—had an altogether different impact than what we supposed the judge who banned the collection "Vunena vremena" [Woolly Times] wished.

That is, it turned the case of a pronouncedly chamber poet like Djogo into something that had the spice of the stage and the marketplace and pressed down upon the entire "cultural sphere" with its imagined weight.

Professor Vaso Milincevic, who delivered the introductory address at the conference mentioned, feels that (certain) misunderstandings occur in that cultural sphere even when "in criticism of works of art people altogether ignore the fact that they are dealing with an esthetic creation and that it is not instructive to judge it exclusively by narrowly conceived and applied ideological criteria.

"There are cases," Dr Milincevic said, "when the ideological or social criticism (though any criticism is social), sometimes resulting more from the attitude toward the author than toward the work being criticized, comes in advance of the artistic criticism, which also results in misunderstandings and an erroneous politicization, especially if a commonplace label has taken the place of ideological analysis. It is certain that reactions of this kind do not contribute to progressive thought and commitment, and in such a case the League of Communists cannot side with them, since they are basically bureaucratic and sectarian. The misunderstandings are just as great in the situation when there is a difference in judgments between professional esthetic criticism and the social criticism which evaluates the work from ideological positions. Especially when the social criticism comes post festum. The main thing in such cases is to create a tolerant intellectual atmosphere so that the disputes which arise are resolved through a contest of opinions and

arguments instead of with name-calling or administrative action. Some disputes arise even out of ignorance, superficiality, because poetry and history are equated wrongly and in the wrong place, because of a failure to understand the nature of criticism, whose rebellion and dissatisfaction disappeared precisely on behalf of affirmation of the new values and relations, not the old ones...."

The meeting on the freedom of creative culture was accompanied by material containing this passage: "The League of Communists is resolutely opposed to administrative meddling in the question of art and creativity. Bans are an implicit acknowledgement of social and theoretical weakness, the result of ideologized decisions which often have not been sufficiently thought through. Such moves of a restrictive and some kind of dogmatic character do more harm than good.... The League of Communists feels that all disputes in creativity should be resolved through open debate and documented criticism. The best opposition to ideologically unacceptable opinions and works is Marxist theoretical and artistic criticism."

We talked about this with Dr Ratko Bozovic, a cultural sociologist and professor at the School of Political Science at Belgrade University. We will cite some details from the conversation.

Professor Bozovic feels that sometimes we have more rescue teams than people drowning, and he adds: "I have always wondered whether a ban goes further in underestimating art as a value or in overestimating its influence on events. I am certain that both are mistaken.... Two factors are always revived in the mechanism of the prohibition: censors as watchdogs of orthodoxy, and those others who supposedly are to be protected and rescued. Thus a relationship of domination and subordination, of control and subjugation, is established. In that way all are controlled, even those who are being rescued."

The professor also thinks that self-censorship and "creative reductionism" are inevitable concomitants and consequences of the anachronistic institution of the ban.

A Ban on Bans!

Nevertheless, whatever we call them, today's bans--removal, vaulting or refrigeration--although they are no longer the result of a strict leftwing-rightwing division, do exist, and they are mostly justified with the phrase "this is not the time."

For example, it is worthwhile recalling several judgments contained in the report which the Novi Sad Municipal Committee issued concerning the situation in the Serbian National Theater.

That report stated that "the themes of the work" (the reference is to "Pigeon Pit") and "the performance of the work are not suitable at the present moment."

It is easy to see that these quotations suggest that the details of "Pigeon Pit" which might be at issue do not arise out of the work itself, but are imposed upon it from outside.

Presumably the ideological message which we can first of all draw from this minicatalogue of blunders, mistakes and bans, offered only for the sake of illustration, the lesson which certainly sounds trite (if so, why is it difficult to apply it?), is this: conflicts in society of every kind, including those in culture, should be resolved in public and on the basis of the force of arguments and without an imposed politicization, which, as in the case of "Pigeon Pit," has not, at least so far, led to a resolution of the conflict, but to some sort of "regional socialism" (it has turned out that what is nationalistic for one region is antinationalistic for another, while for yet a third it is anticommunism!). Viewed in this way, the thesis that we are dealing with what is referred to as a conflict between the intellectuals and the party, with a dispute between "culture and the movement," rather than, as it seems, a dispute between different conceptions of culture, art and freedom, really sounds altogether superficial.

We intentionally used the expression "different conceptions" rather than "a pluralism of concepts"!

7045

CS0: 2800/240

YUGOSLAVIA

MARKOVIC DISCUSSES PARTY ROLE, RESPONSIBILITY, KOSOVO

LD251303 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0519 GMT 25 Mar 84

[Text] Belgrade, 25 March (TANJUG)--"The LC should realize its leading role not from a position of 'the party in power' but through its orientations and the struggle for their ascendancy and dominance. This means that there is a possibility that in certain situations, when it is consistently struggling for a particular line, the LC is left temporarily in a minority, which has happened"--thus says Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an interview with ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA's latest edition under the heading, "Ideals Do Not Lose Their Value."

Replying to a question about our socioeconomic development and the role of communists in the realization of topical issues, Markovic says among other things:

Communists should, above all through developed political activity in the institutions of the self-managing system [words indistinct]. The LC cannot of course take the entire responsibility upon itself, but it is responsible for the activities of its members, for their struggle in the institutions of the system that is on the line of self-management and socialist democracy.

Markovic emphasizes, in this respect, things are not satisfactory," there are cases of isolationism within the LC organization, and attempts to impose stands and concrete solutions from positions of power. Mentioning that this divergence of practice from fundamental orientations will be discussed at one of the coming sessions of the central committee will, in its stands and conclusions, contribute to the fuller realization of the role of the LC.

Explaining how in certain circumstances we behave as though we have eight parties, and replying to the question as to whether he feels that sometimes communists, particularly certain forums, behave in a sectarian manner--defending the interests of sociopolitical communities without taking account of the general interest--Dragoslav Markovic says:

Particularist isolationism and disregard for the interests of the entire social community, for the common need, clearly exist in sociopolitical communities at all levels, and in organizations of associated labor in certain branches of the economy. The worst negative consequences arise when we have

isolationism and when one-sided interest is made absolute within the republics, provinces, and regions. In such cases, it is a question of [word indistinct] deformations of social relations.

It should be borne in mind, Markovic goes on to explain, that communists are, after all, only people who express certain interests and are exposed to certain influences from the environment in which they live and work; even when they have an influence on that environment they are still exposed to the influence of its objective needs and relations. Therefore, Markovic continues, it has to be expected that everyone, including communists, will sometimes also express the narrower interests of his environment. Communists and party organizations must, of course, equip themselves to contribute to the more successful and harmonious expression and resolution of relations between the particular and the general common interest. This is a process, Markovic concludes, a daily struggle, something that has to be fought for from day to day through criticism and of particularism and advocacy of what is in the common general interest.

Replying to a question on how to protect social property that is threatened by inflation, the misuse of position, economic crime, and disrespect for moral norms that has acquired worrying proportions, Markovic says:

This is above all the result of underdeveloped self-management, the unsatisfactory material position of associated labor, out-dated wage relations, and the inconsistent application of the principle of reward according to labor. Recently, the serious economic difficulties have been creating conditions for speculation and abuses of various kinds.

The policy of responsibility has largely been reduced to expulsion from the LC or handing out party warnings; carrying out a mistaken policy has caused enormous harm in this society. Are such punishments adequate, and were the party measures pronounced on the most responsible people in Kosovo, for example, appropriate?

In reply to this question, Dragoslav Markovic says:

Political sanctions for responsible individuals in the Kosovo leaderships do not always match the severity of the political and other consequences. However, such a degree of established responsibility is conditioned by the possibilities and existing relation of forces in the Kosovo LC. Had the relation of forces in the Kosovo LC and LC leadership in 1981 been what it is today, I am sure those punishments would have been harsher. Fortunately, history forgives nothing and the temporary unfavorable relation of forces that, for example, means an inadequate punishment for someone, will change in the coming period and such a case will be quite differently assessed. It should be borne in mind here that punishment is not revenge; it is not an emotional act, and political punishment is least of all simply a punishment. It is a very rational act, and it should regulate the relation of forces in a positive direction. This does not of course mean the relativization of legal responsibility. Markovic goes on to explain the question of responsibility further beyond this context.

In reply to a question as to whether in the existing electoral system in state forums and the party it is possible to successfully realize a policy of responsibility, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium says that it is, and that the basic condition for achieving political responsibility and openness of work is openness when adopting decisions and even broader democratization.

It is possible to criticize the electoral system and the inadequate democratization of cadre policy, Markovic stresses, but the LC will never be willing to accept demands for changes in an electoral system and democratization of cadre policy that, as he says, in essence proceed from positions of the existence of multiparty political pluralism, ultraparty civil democracy. Solutions for a way out of the unsatisfactory state of affairs, Karmovic says, can only be sought within the framework of the further development of the self-managing socialist delegate system.

To a question as to what stage has been reached, in his view, in removing the consequences of the counterrevolutionary events and activities of the irredentists in Kosovo, Markovic replies that "in many respects considerable progress has been made." There has been a change in the LC leaderships and in other leading bodies in Kosovo and the relation of forces in the province is now quite different. An anti-irredentist and antinationalist orientation prevails, Markovic says. The irredentists, through various circumstances from individual political activities to the application of means of detection, are on the defensive...[TANJUG ellipses]

It would be unrealistic to expect complete stabilization in such a short time, Markovic says. The indoctrination lasted too long. "I do not mean to say that the opposite process has to last as long, but it cannot be expected that great results will be achieved overnight," Markovic says. He stresses that the emigration of serbs and Montenegrins is the most serious problem that has not been halted.

There are no longer such frequent and crude pressures from Albanian nationalists and irredentists, Markovic says, but the unfavorable atmosphere has not yet been removed and lost confidence has not yet been restored everywhere. This is why there is a need to work more rapidly and harder toward changing the unfavorable atmosphere in intranational relations, Markovic says, explaining that there is some emigration for work reasons and it should be expected that industrial development, above all the development of the processing industry, and the pooling of labor and resources will open up this area for new specialists because industry, as Markovic says, does not know national divisions.

Markovic goes on to answer questions on whether religion in Yugoslavia is experiencing a revival, whether or not it reinforces nationalism, whether the LC is erring in this area at the present moment, and on how to repay debts and employ returnee workers from abroad...[TANJUG ellipses]

In reply to the question on how one becomes a revolutionary in our present conditions, Markovic maintains: "just as before": the ideas are the same, although the conditions of the struggle are different. The motive of the struggle, Markovic says, is new equality, an end to exploitation, the struggle for independence, respect for the international position of the country, the

power of the working class...[TANJUG ellipses] Being a good pupil, a good worker, a good producer today means being someone who fights for the progress of society within the bounds of one's abilities. This is the way to struggle for the realization of ideals. Ideals do not, of course, he concludes, lose their value because conditions, and therefore also the means for realizing them, change.

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CROATIAN LC MEETING CRITICIZES RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 84 pp 10-12

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic on meeting of the Commission for Ideological-Theoretical Work and Information of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC: "Opposition to the Politicization of Religious Sentiments"]

[Text] The struggle against clericalism dare not by any means be waged from the level of that criticism imposed by the clericalists, since that criticism is actually an attempt to impose a political partnership, and that is both unconstitutional and unlawful. That is why an effort is made to use a large number of questions concerning practical exercise of religious freedoms in our country to insert an intermediary (the church) between the organized socialist forces and a segment of this society's citizenry who would speak in the name of those citizens, and that solely because they are among other things religious. That kind of position and that kind of dialogue must not be taken up, but they have to be exposed in political and ideological terms.

That idea was in a way the backbone of the debate concerning the activity of religious communities in Zagreb which was recently held in the Commission for Ideological-Theoretical Work and Information of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC, from which we present certain of the more important and interesting excerpts.

Falsification of Principles

There were incidentally several reasons for the debate, as Vjekoslav Koprivnjak (member of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC) said in his introductory speech.

In a way, that is, it was a continuation of the regular practice of discussing this topic within the LC and of evaluating in some way how constitutionality is being realized in practice concerning religious freedoms and the activity of religious communities. At the same time, as Koprivnjak said, it is also important at this point to respond to certain questions around which an actual campaign has been launched, especially in certain religious newspapers, as well as in the public press, and they pertain above all to whether the LCY Program should be amended in the section which speaks about the attitude toward religion and whether believers can be members of the LC. It is

also indispensable at this moment to call attention to the marked tendency toward clericalism (in all of our religious communities of any importance), which through the politicization of religious sentiments is attempting to offer an alternative both to our socialist self-management democracy and to our social system in general.

In that context Koprivnjak illustrated the breadth of religious freedoms in our country by taking the example of the religious press (of the 22 religious communities in Zagreb), emphasizing that in Zagreb alone they issue 39 religious newspapers and magazines (with an annual circulation numbering in the millions), which certainly does not include the official organs of the bishoprics, parishes, etc. In spite of that and in spite of the unambiguous commitment of this society that religious sentiment shall be an "inalienable right of the citizen and a matter of his own private business" and that militant atheism is not the commitment either of the LC or of the other subjective forces of society, certain church circles have been unceasingly attempting to accuse this society of some kind of systematic atheization and an antireligious attitude. That does not mean, of course, Koprivnjak said, that there is no sectarianism. It does exist, and it "does all manner of harm in political action ... and it has to be combated with every weapon. However, this gives no one the right to raise certain inconsistencies occurring in practice to the level of the political principle of this LC and of this society," since the purpose of that "falsification of principles" is to achieve the disavowal both of the "LC, and of the socialist self-management system, and of our democracy."

Koprivnjak said in that connection that the sole criterion for the social advancement of any citizen, regardless of his private beliefs, "must be his ability, his qualifications, his readiness for social commitment on the issues of socialist self-management and his attitude toward the fundamental values of our society."

As for that campaign in which amendment of the LCY Program is being sought, Koprivnjak said that it implies at least two things: "The purpose of the demand in the name of what is called reality that members of the LC be allowed to practice religion, that is, that believers may be enrolled in the LC, is to emphasize that the LC is the only relevant political factor in our society through which it is possible to seriously influence the development of social relations and that the reality is such that the LC has an exclusive political monopoly in society. It accordingly follows from that logic: if we wish to democratize society, then it is also indispensable to make it possible for believers to be members of the LC, since that is the only space and possibility for serious social action, which is to say in the most direct terms that the LC is a force outside and above the political system.... And second, it means nonrecognition of the very political system of socialist self-management and its institutions: the delegate system and the broadest political organization of the working people and citizens through the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth League, and other sociopolitical and public organizations. The demand for enrollment of believers in the LC, especially on the basis of the line of argument presented by GLAS KONCILA and PRAVOSLAVLJE, objectively signifies underestimation and

nonrecognition of the essence and structure of the political system of socialist self-management. Everyone must be aware of that when he enters this discussion, and that fact dare not be neglected, just as we must be aware of a certain negative social practice in which the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation and the Socialist Youth League are not in practice being confirmed as the broadest organizations of the working people, citizens and young people, whose fundamental task is to fight for the development of the system of socialist self-management."

Koprivnjak went on to warn that when it comes to the nationality, "it is the unceasing desire to impose the view of an indissoluble relationship between the Catholic Church and the Croatian nationality ... and a similar tendency also exists in the Serbian Orthodox Church with respect to the Serbian nationality." At the same time a constant effort is made to "demonstrate" that the "communists will in future be devoid of nationality" and that only the churches pursue the interests of the nationalities, which again must be exposed politically and the real truth displayed, "since no church dare be a front for nationalism of any kind, and if it should be, then we must enter upon a clear struggle in terms of politics, ideology and everything else."

Koprivnjak also pointed up the tendency of an almost campaign-style emphasis on dehumanization of secular reality and denial of any value whatsoever in our society, accompanied by a "search for light and hope solely in the Catholic faith and its values." In that context, he said, we dare not "forget certain upheavals in the Orthodox Church either, especially following the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo." But here we still lack concrete analysis, especially for the Zagreb district.

Unacceptable Dialogue

Speaking about the political aspirations of certain church circles, Stipe Suvar said among other things "that the point must be demonstrated and interpreted to the public that the religious communities are not political organizations and that now they are actually taking over more and more of a political function in society, that ambitions are growing in them to even impose themselves upon the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces as a political partner and as the political representative of believers, which is not allowed under our constitution and laws. The separation of church and state, and the depoliticization of the church accordingly, is an achievement of the great French Revolution, and today it is contained in the constitutions of a great majority of the countries in the world, both capitalist and socialist, and it is especially important for a society which wishes to achieve self-management of all the working people and citizens regardless of whether they are religious or not. To be sure, the people in certain religious communities are trying to persuade us that they are not involved in politics, but every day there are hundreds of pieces of evidence that under their auspices a policy that is essentially directed against the political reality of our country and is very inimical to socialist self-management is being waged with a vengeance and ever more aggressively. I do not agree with those," Suvar added, "who today sound the alarm saying that now the churches are becoming much stronger, while the LC and organized socialist

forces are growing weak. After all, we are not talking about any sort of great power or importance on the part of the church, but rather that we have been napping." Certainly this does not mean that ideological and political struggle should not be waged against the tendencies toward political abuse of the church and religion, especially since those are long-term tendencies and will not disappear easily.

Suvar went on to say that people in the religious communities want to impose a dialogue concerning questions which are not socially relevant. "You see," he said, "the leitmotif of statements made from the high eminences in the church all the way to certain parish priests is that they seek freedom to satisfy religious needs in the schools, in the prisons, in units of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] and hospitals. In those institutions, each of which has its particular social function, and which individuals enter as patients, convicts, soldiers or pupils, there are many other personal needs of people which are not satisfied, and religious needs fall precisely among those personal needs, just as do needs for culture, sports, and so on in a broader sense."

Suvar emphasized in that context that it is very important that it be shown, but not merely by pointing to programmatic positions and decisions, but in everyday political behavior, that we do not divide people into those who believe and those who do not believe in public life and social decisionmaking. People cannot and must not be counted off as either believers or atheists either in the local community or in the basic organization of associated labor or in a public assembly or assembly of working people, or in the delegations in assemblies, or among the rank and file of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Trade Union Federation, the League of Veterans and the Socialist Youth League. It is only the League of Communists, in conformity with the provisions of its Program, that requires that its members adhere to the Marxist view of the world. And since the LCY considers the Marxist view of the world to be the scientific view of the world, it requires that its members adhere to the scientific view of the world, and that in turn means that communists do not regard the religious view of the world as scientific, and we therefore do not allow members of our organization to actively practice religious beliefs.

I say "actively" since for opportunistic and careerist reasons, and out of a multitude of other everyday human motives, someone might enter the LC even though that person is religious, but we have never gone into that, nor will we go into it, but we measure it on the basis of behavior in practice. Accordingly, there is by no means a conflict between militant atheism and militant theism.... Communists are not protagonists of militant atheism, at least not any longer and not in our country, since Marxists in the world and in our country long ago abandoned the proselytizing approach to religion of earlier times when, it should be said, the sociohistorical circumstances and also the position of the working class were different.... Accordingly, if we are being reproached with militant atheism, it has to be said that we are not practicing it, and that on the contrary we are more and more confronting militant theism from certain religious communities.

Speaking about certain tendencies toward a "narrowing of our policy toward those who are not in the party," Suvar said that the basic thing is that the Socialist Alliance operate as it should, and that means "that it is not an organization which brings together people of like mind in an ideological sense, in their view of the world, but brings together all those in Yugoslavia who recognize the socialist system and want to work for society to develop in the spirit of socialist self-management, socialist democracy and socialist (not philanthropic) humanism."

Narrow-Minded Nationalism

Suvar spoke specifically about the ambitions of the Catholic Church "to be as strong and politically influential in Croatia as the church in Poland." But our sociohistorical reality is after all different from that of Poland. It is an illusion to suppose that what has happened and is happening in Poland, especially since August 1980, could happen and develop here. That is, both the cavers from the ranks of the so-called leftwing intelligentsia and those from our traditional, nationalistic and clerical rightwing would have it that we are supposedly faced with the destiny of another Poland, and they are even gratified in advance that we will experience that. Recently, Suvar said, I saw, for example, photographs showing nuns in Poland assaulting German tanks in the name of patriotism. But in our country there are photographs of young girls who belonged to SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] assaulting tanks, but you will not find any nuns opposing the occupier in that way.... Aside from that, the church in Poland has been very much interested in preserving and supporting the Polish state. But in our country even certain high church dignitaries would rather pull out their tongues than to utter the name of Yugoslavia, not to mention the fact that in traveling through the world they will not stop in at our consular and diplomatic missions. Everywhere they will set the example for believers to sing the anthem "Our Beautiful Homeland," but they would never have anything to do with the anthem "Hey, Slavs." Does this not smack of narrow-minded nationalism and doesn't it contradict the rules of life in this community in the spirit of brotherhood and unity?

At the end of his statement Suvar said: "We should call upon every priest and every bishop and archbishop who wants to respect the political reality of Yugoslavia to be active in the local community and in citizen assemblies, in the sections and leadership bodies of the Socialist Alliance, but not as priests and bishops, but as citizens of this country. Let them take part in the political life of society with the same chances that every citizen has."

There was also mention in the debate of the influence of church ideology on young people, accompanied by the remark that this influence, if in truth it does exist in any great measure, has not been sufficiently elucidated and clarified. The question was put in that context of where those suggestions about the LC come from, not only with respect to government but also with respect to some sort of moral suspicions that it is unattractive to young people and that it is opposed to tradition and in some way does not understand that tradition, that it does not carry it on, and so on.

As for clericalism, it was also emphasized that the protagonists of the struggle against all forms of politicization of the church should themselves be believers, that it is therefore necessary for them, as working people and citizens, to become more fully involved in all the institutions of our system, in accordance with their political commitment to the fundamental values of this society.

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WORKS, STATEMENTS CRITICIZING STALINISM REVIEWED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 84 p 21

[Article by Damir Grubisa: "Stalinism As the 'Original Sin' of Our Party"]

[Text] At a certain time the "Praxis" philosophical school played a significant role in the conflict with dogmatism of Stalinist derivation in philosophy and in our other social sciences. The inauguration of the methodological principle of "criticism of everything in existence," however, is today being manifested mainly as an obsession with the danger of Stalinism not only in the social sciences, but also in the political system of our society and in particular, in the practice of the LC. This is demonstrating in practice how what is at its beginning an antidogmatic awareness is twisted into its opposite, since it is proceeding from a schematic reduction in order to show the correctness of its methodological principle constituted as a stereotype, as a Procrustean bed in which our entire reality is compressed and a sentence without appeal is pronounced upon it. The fate of antidogmatism transformed into its opposite and established as a sort of contradictio in objecto was described at one time by Kardelj in his "Notes on Our Social Criticism" of 1966, warning about the metamorphoses and evolutions of such a "leftist" criticism of our social reality.

In the interval of almost 20 years since then, Kardelj's analyses have been shown to be justified, since the "ultraleftist" criticism (as Kardelj called it about 10 years later in his study on the directions of the development of the political system of socialist self-management) has escalated. Citing Marx, within the framework of this orientation today there is an implicit criticism of Marxism going on and an attempt to overturn it, at least in the form of rejecting the "unphilosophical" old Marx and more and more, rejecting Lenin as a follower of Marxist revolutionary theory. This business with Lenin is already becoming "fashionable" in our academic and intellectual circles. There is an attempt to recognize and find "totalitarianism of the spirit" in almost all political actions by the LC, in order to prove that a Stalinist restoration is under way among us, basically founded on the "unconquered Bolshevik" tradition, or even, as in Sesardicev's case, an "ideological indoctrination with Marxism."

Separating Lenin From Marx

Thus Lenin is being blamed for the appearance of Stalin, and a further step is taken when the one responsible for Lenin is claimed to be Marx. It is

illustrative here to cite the opinion of Slobodan Inic, expressed in an article with a symptomatic title, "Socialism as Stalinism," in the 10 June 1983 KNJIZEVNA REC. Inic feels that it is necessary to deal with Lenin, without giving in to his authority or idolizing him. Inic thinks that Lenin "revolutionized Marx in an excessively political manner," as an alibi for the insufficiency or sociohistorical circumstances for the revolution, and inquires at least how one of the most humane teachings has been so "tragically generalized" that it has become the weapon of "almost the most relentless tyranny in human history?" In answering his own rhetorical question, Inic presents two directions for an explanation: he calls the first explanation "the theory of deformed conclusions of the true line," according to which the responsibility for the "distortion" falls on Stalin. The second explanation is the theory of a "deformed line from the start" or a direct link between Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. The conclusion that Inic suggests is that Marxist tradition itself is responsible for this, because the intellectual movement in explaining Stalinism "in view of the second explanation appeared at the fatal basis of Marxist tradition: to establish a continuity from Marx at any cost. I mean to say that Marx and Lenin are not separated, and thus Lenin and Stalin are identified even more. Separating Marx from Lenin in order to separate Lenin from Stalin more easily is the most urgent task today!"

This separation of Marx from Lenin is becoming a "commonplace" in our "social criticism." N. Milosevic also "expressed" himself on this in his speeches at the Belgrade House of Youth, declaring Lenin to be the originator of the armed robbery and banditry that led the Bolsheviks to power. Kosta Cavoski was to radicalize this thesis at last year's meeting of philosophers, sociologists, and political scientists in Komiza, accusing Lenin of "revolutionary Machiavellianism" that does not even hesitate to kill innocent children--in this case the young Romanovs--in order to achieve his Machiavellian goal, the revolution. This sort of thesis has recently acquired considerable popularity in the circles of our "intellectual Left." Although M. Zivotic, in his book "Revolution and Culture" in the chapter entitled "Politburocratic Society and Its Ideology," notes that "Bolshevik theory and practice created the bureaucracy as a new class, which is not legitimate, since it is the organizer of a method of production and social relations that fall below the level of modern bourgeois society." Thus the roots of modern Stalinism are identified in "Bolshevism" and Bolshevik ideology. It is therefore no surprise that K. Cavoski and V. Kostunic, in the book "Party Pluralism or Monism" accuse the Communist Party of Yugoslavia of a Bolshevization that via facti abolished party pluralism and introduced communist monism. "Bolshevization" thus appears as the relentless fate of all socialist revolutions that are initiated exclusively by ideological means (sic!) and persist as such even today, due to their monist system. "Militant Bolshevism" is the source of the dogmatic errors of our party, and in conclusion the authors also attack Kardelj's concept of the pluralism of self-managing interests, feeling that its acceptance, while at the same time rejecting political pluralism, indicates that "the Bolshevik tradition in solving problems has still not been completely abandoned." Finally, the two of them advocate a rejection of this Bolshevik legacy, in order to support "practical utilization of the constitutional freedom of association," i.e. the restoration of a multiparty system, *expressis verbis*.

Our political structure "typically belongs to the systems of the East European societies" and "can be defined as a political system based on the a priori authority of the LC, which in practice does not have to show the superiority of its policy, since its legitimacy is not drawn from the results of practice," in the opinion of Z. Golubovic (in the journal SOCIOLOGIJA), and thus the demand for the development of self-management is absurd, since two irreconcilable principles are in effect; the principle of control and arbitration from above, from the standpoint of the authority of the government and the monopoly on "historical truth," and the principle of the control of the authorities by society. Such a way of thinking is also shared by B. Horvat, when he notes that we have inherited from the Comintern a "concept of a political system from which we have never freed ourselves, and which can be reduced to two elements: a monopoly by officials and atomized masses." Thus for Cavoski and Kostunic our party has been subject to "revolutionary Machiavellianism."

Bolshevization means the introduction of a one-party "monism"--and a one-party system "objectively" leads to a monopoly. Thus Puhovski, in a discussion concerning R. Baro's book "The Alternative: Critique of Real Socialism," published in the journal TRECI PROGRAM (55/82), notes that under the conditions of reliance on one party "its Stalinist position is enhanced, regardless of the ideological development of this party, because its position as a guarantee of everything existing is consolidated."

A Return to Bourgeois Democracy

In this light, socialism and self-management, which occurred precisely through the historical action of this party as the vanguard of the working class, are reduced to Stalinism as an imminent consequence of its development. Thus arises the possibility of all the "Orwelliads" that preach "totalitarization" of the spirit to us and offer us a scenario for a return to barbarism, as J. Zupanov and Lj. Tadic do when in the journal THEORIA they advocate a "revolutionary return to bourgeois political democracy"--otherwise socialism will "inevitably slide into Stalinist barbarism!"

This obsession with Stalinism is becoming a sort of "forma mentis," which unfortunately is conditioning our social thought and is even appearing as a psychological pressure in the form of an obligation to repeat this commonplace in every speech. Let us take for example the polemic conducted in KOMUNIST on 24 June 1983, on a different subject, when Lj. Kljakic raised the question for himself and the readers of whether dogmatism exists in the LC; "in other words, whether the LC has really overcome its own Stalinism once and for all. An affirmative answer, unfortunately, is only an ideological alibi. Otherwise, this would mean that the LCY and Yugoslav society do not have to reckon at all with the possibilities of a return to Stalinism."

In this manner, everyone is drawn into a discussion of Stalinism if he wants to participate, on the basis of the ideological principles of the LC and self-management, in the struggle of views which is after all advocated "in principle" by our critics as well. But this then entails the risk that he may receive the label of a "Stalinist," a dogmatist, or some other pejorative epithet from the ultraleftist arsenal of invective. What is characteristic

of this offensive, allegedly against Stalinism, "which is becoming stronger among us," and against the "barbarization" that is under way? What does this "ideological campaign" really show? Here Stalinism is only a pretext, a general scapegoat in a clash of a different sort: this has to do with accusing the LCY of being so dominated by the "Stalinist syndrome" that it cannot move away from the "Bolshevist tradition," so that it is no longer (and the question is whether it ever was) able to cope with the historic task of leading this society. The real target in this case is the LC, which is being deprived of its "legitimacy" for leading this country, and against it some new protagonist is being put forward, a League of Socialists, as in Portoroz (at a recently held meeting of sociologists and at a meeting of Marxists in Novi Sad), or an open restoration of bourgeois political democracy, and that would mean a dictatorship by the bourgeois class, which after all among us today, although it is small, is becoming more and more vocal with ideas of the beneficial involvement of "private capital" in overcoming our economic crisis.

In world conditions this trend, the reduction of socialism to Stalinism, is being revealed to us as eminently anticommunist, as was stated at a recently held round table on anticommunism that was organized by KOMUNIST. Therefore M. Komatina notes correctly that this is an attempt to carry out the total destruction of communism as a movement and to discredit Marxism as the scientific basis for communism.

Thus Lenin has also come under attack, in order to discredit through him the entire October Revolution as "undemocratic" in the mildest sense, and actually totalitarian. Naturally then all the forces citing the October tradition are by definition totalitarian, smothering human freedoms and leading to barbarism. One must first deal with Stalinism, and then show that Lenin was his predecessor, and this actually is a question of dealing with Marxism, even when it is done in the name of Marx himself.

Do our "social critics" follow this scenario, which is well known and staged? The reduction of socialism to Stalinism is today becoming the motto of the anticommunist propaganda campaign which is a reflection of the strengthening of rightist forces in the world, neoconservatism and neoliberalism. This "turn to the Right" is challenging the basic achievements of socialism in the world: real socialism is identified with Stalinism, and every other attempt at socialism is declared in advance to be a failed experiment. This ideological offensive by neoconservative and neoliberal forces has not even spared Yugoslav society or our autonomous search for our own path of development, self-management. The "Yugoslav model" is being criticized for not being quick and energetic enough in "emancipating" itself from its "Stalinist ancestor," and for not moving more decisively toward a "liberalization of the regime," opening a free market, and encouraging "political competition," which can find its true expression only in multiparty pluralism. On this level, the criticism of Stalinism presented by our Left corresponds strikingly with the similar attempts coming from the camp of world reaction, and is identical to the accusation that Stalinism is the "original sin" of socialism that is repeated as an inevitable fate and an internal law that necessarily ends in totalitarianism and a "dictatorship of the Politburocracy." In the final analysis, socialism is impossible, unreal--it is only a utopian dream from which one should awaken as soon as possible.

It is all the more necessary to oppose the blanket assessments of Stalinism as "recidivism" and the accusations of Stalinization, and uncover the starting points and background for this criticism, for the sake of a more effective struggle for the development of self-management and socialism.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

'ARAFAT INVITED TO VISIT--Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has met with Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat in Tunis. Dusan Dragosavac invited 'Arafat to visit our country. The Palestinian leader has accepted the invitation, and the date of the visit will be agreed on later. At the same time, Dusan Dragosavac invited representatives of the PLO to attend the Conference of Mediterranean Progressive Parties and Movements which will be held in Belgrade in June. [Text] [AU261224 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Mar 84]

ENVOY TO ANGOLA ACCREDITATION--Luanda, 28 March (TANJUG)--Angolan President Jose dos Santos today, Wednesday, described as good the development of overall relations between Angola and Yugoslavia and said that conditions existed for expanding cooperation between the two countries, especially at the economic level. Receiving the credentials of new Yugoslav Ambassador to Angola Dr Ivo Kustrak, the Angolan president stressed that relations between the two countries had been always characterized by a closeness of views, friendship and understanding. It was also noted, during the talk, that the Angolan president's visit to Yugoslavia in early April would contribute to further promoting overall relations and cooperation between the two countries. ["Pool" item] [Text] [LD281718 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 28 Mar 84]

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